

Voice of AFRICA



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Oppressed peoples in a less developed country, made desperate by tyranny and corruption, are not going to be deterred from getting rid of an objectionable government on the ground that it might upset the balance of power between the Great Powers. People struggling to free themselves from colonial oppression are going to get help wherever they can find it. People artificially divided in the interest of the balance of power are going to continue to strive for reunification, and those suffering from racial discrimination are going to end it irrespective of the interests of those powers.

—KWAME NKRUMAH

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Editor: Boakye Kwakwa

OUR OPINION

SIR ALEC'S CONFERENCE

AS we go to press Sir Alec Douglas-Home has not completed campaigning for the Commonwealth.

He has appeared on Television, given audience at his residence to journalists, spoken at political rallies and in the House of Commons—all on the importance of the Commonwealth and the wonderful contribution it can make to world peace.

That is all very well and good. We believe in the comity of nations; in the brotherhood of man—and this is the foundation on which the Commonwealth is supposed to be built.

But how genuine is Sir Alec? Can we take a man who has shown such contempt for Africa, Africans and Afro-Asians in many world forums at his word?

Are these campaigns not a ruse to cover up the multi-sins the U.K. Government has committed, and continue to commit, against Africans in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa?

Is it a coincidence that Sir Alec would be making these high declarations on the Commonwealth on the eve of the proposed July Conference?

Douglas-Home now smells trouble everywhere—trouble which he had immensely helped to create and nurture in Africa.

As Secretary for Commonwealth Relations between 1955 and 1960 he consistently appeased the white racist forces in Africa. He more than once rebuked the Afro-Asians in New York for demanding an end to oppression and degradation in Africa.

At the Foreign Office he supported the then diseased and now decayed Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In stinking conservatism, his was the politics of unrealism.

In convening the Commonwealth Conference he is probably becoming aware that modern politics requires both reason and reality. We have no quarrel with realists.

We wonder, however, what Douglas-Home hopes to achieve now in a conference on Southern Rhodesia. The African view is clear enough—if that is what the British Government wants to know.

We demand for Southern Rhodesia the application of the only principle which can bring peace, prosperity and sanity to Southern Rhodesia and save the handful of foolhardy racials from being their own executioners.

We demand the principle of "one man, one vote".

Ghana supports all measures to end apartheid

Osagyefo the President has sent the following message to the International Conference on Economic Sanctions against South Africa, convening in London from 14-17 April, 1964:—

"I SEND my greetings and felicitations to all those participating in the international Conference on Economic Sanctions against South Africa. The significance of this conference lies in the fact that this is the first time that the world's moral abhorrence of apartheid has led to a concerted and scientific examination of the practical measures which must be taken to eradicate this abomination from human society.

It is my hope that the conscience of humanity will find full expression at your conference, and that the outcome of your deliberations will present the world with a clear call to action on an effective programme acceptable to all who wish to end the practice of apartheid in South Africa.

Ghana has always given its fullest support at the United Nations, in the Organisation of African Unity, and in all other international organisations to any measures directed towards the termination of the inhuman systems of racial exploitation

and discrimination in South Africa. The Government of Ghana is therefore fully in accord with the aims of your conference, is happy to be associated with it, and is fully convinced that it will succeed in mobilising a dynamic world-wide campaign against Apartheid.

We must, however, not be content to estimate our success only by the strength and cogency of our resolutions. The test, for us, must be what amount of determination we can engender in the world to fight the evil of Apartheid by concrete action. The application of effective sanctions must be our chief aim. These alone

will isolate South Africa economically, and bring home to the South African Government and its supporters that the world will no longer tolerate the injustice and inhumanity on which apartheid is based.

Apartheid has long stood condemned before the eyes of all civilised men. But irresolution and divided councils have so far shielded this wicked system from the retribution of an outraged world. The time has now come to obliterate it, so that men and women everywhere, whatever their colour, race and creed, may live together in sincere brotherhood and peace.

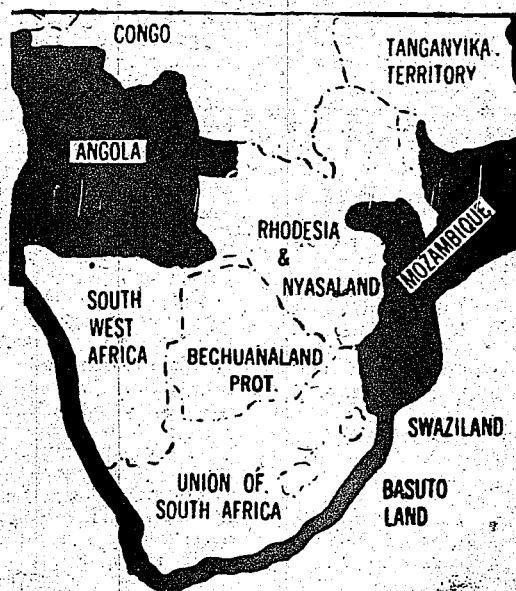
—KWAME NKRUMAH



BECHUANALAND

BASUTOLAND

SWAZILAND



Problems of the High Commission Territories

by A Correspondent

(We do not necessarily agree with the views expressed by the writer of this article)

THE three British High Commission Territories embedded in the apartheid complex of Southern Africa, present the most intractable and politically explosive of Britain's remaining colonial problems—that is apart from Southern Rhodesia. They could bring the United Kingdom Government into direct conflict with South Africa in an area where the British are relatively weakest. The immediate political issues are by no means clear-cut. There are obvious dangers in every course ahead. These territories cannot escape involvement in the conflict centered in apartheid. Indeed throughout their history, despite British protectorate status, they have been sucked progressively into the vortex of the South African political and economic system. Thus a passive "holding operation" designed to insulate them cannot succeed.

Certain related trends in central

and Southern Africa can be reasonably predicted over the next decade. With independent Africa's liberatory movements pressing down on the borders of Tanganyika, Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, the more vulnerable strongholds of European rule must compromise or go under first. For many reasons—better-trained nationalists armies, declining support from the West, unrest and economic declining at home—the Portuguese Government must lose its grip on Angola and Mozambique. The collapse of the economic framework provided by the Central African Federation means that Southern Rhodesia's strategic and political weakness will be compounded by her economic isolation, a declining European population, and a demoralization consequent on Britain's refusal to grant independence to a white-dominated government. Whether the transfer of power is induced in these areas

by compromise or trauma, European rule must succumb.

Meanwhile the progressive strengthening of the Southern Africa regime may continue. Barring decisive external intervention or an unforeseeable combination of internal "accidents", the government may well remain stronger than its opponents while the collapse of white rule takes place to the north. But the pressure will continue to build up inside; the seems that could burst will become more numerous and precarious; and external hostility will become more menacing.

The outcome of South Africa is not the concern of this article. What matters here is the cat and mouse game which is being played in the process with the three High Commission Territories: tiny mountainous Basutoland with a population of 800,000; fertile Swaziland with

273,000, including 10,000 whites; and vast, deserty Bechuanaland with its scattered 350,000 Africans.

The game needs skill and a cool daring; and of the players—Dr. Verwoerd, Britain, and the Africans of the Territories—the first has so far shown the most sophistication. The object is to determine whether the Territories will develop defiantly to take up a place in the Pan-African crusade against Verwoerd, or whether they will be neutralized or captured by the South African Government. More plainly, will they be used, by virtue of their common frontiers with South Africa, as a pipeline or jumping-off board by the underground Congresses for action against South Africa, or can their economic dependence upon South Africa as well as their military vulnerability be used to hold them in thrall?

VERWOERD'S TREACHERY

In April last year, Dr. Verwoerd fired the first overt shot by threatening "retaliation" against the Territories if they continued to offer sanctuary to "hostile forces", and a government-supporting newspaper (*Die Burger*, 4th April 1963) spoke of the need to prevent actively hostile frontiers "by all available diplomatic and economic means, and in the last resort . . . by military action." By September, despite mounting pressure for action inside the governing Nationalist Party, Dr. Verwoerd switched to cooler tactics; he challenged the British Government to allow his government to offer the Territories' inhabitants the status of "independent", prosperous Bantustans in South Africa. However ludicrous such an offer may appear, it was not made flippantly. It contains the implication that Britain, as the protecting power, is unable either to safeguard the independence of the Territories, or to break the economic pull of the South African economy. It also represents a clever approach to the traditional elements in the Territories. Especially in Swaziland, these can easily be made to feel threatened both by local national nationalists and by the activities of South African refugees and

exiles who bring their territories into dangerous conflict with South Africa.

The High Commission Territories share two crucial features. The first is that they have been allowed to fall a long way behind Britain's other African dependencies in economic and constitutional affairs. The assumption that they would eventually take the geographically and economically logical step of joining South Africa was finally discarded only in 1948. Even after that, development was minimal—a total sum of £7,715,000 was spent on development over the fifteen year period, 1945-60, on all three territories together. The three years 1960-63 have seen some improvement—development grants for all three for the period amounted to just over £4 million—but it is hardly spectacular. Since 1960, too, the recurrent budgets have been expanded by annual grants in aid, where formerly all revenue had to be collected locally.

Political progress has been even slower. None of the Territories had a constitution until 1960: the British High Commissioner, who also represents the U.K. in Pretoria, ruled directly through local Resident Commissioners. Today Basutoland and Bechuanaland have elementary Legislative Councils, and are in process of working out new ones for something like internal self-government. Swaziland has yet to hold its first elections.

The second unifying factor is the Territories' dependence on South Africa. A significant proportion of their adult males work in South Africa—in Basutoland the figure is one-third of the working population. Most of their exports go to South Africa, and most of their imports come in through South Africa—in this respect Basutoland's dependence is complete. Manufacturing on any profitable scale, and even the generation of power, would depend largely on South African markets. A customs union providing for allocation of a percentage of South Africa's import revenues to the Territories accounts for a substantial proportion of their revenue one-half in the case of Basutoland. The Territories are in fact little

more than economic appendages to South Africa.

In every respect Basutoland is the most vulnerable, surrounded deposits and the largest asbestos mine in the world, is potentially viable on her own, but at present she imports most of her food, local agriculture having been badly neglected. Bechuanaland subsists at present on an extremely low level, scratching an occasional crop from the deserty soil to supplement cattle raising, though the beef, and possibly mineral, potential of Bechuanaland is far from negligible.

These are the stark economic facts currently providing a powerful handle for Verwoerd. But there are other local factors he has to take into account. Each of the Territories has a very distinct political personality. South Africa's tactics, and Britain's possible reactions to them, will come to depend increasingly on the nature of the African leadership which is now making an impact in the Territories.

Not only the speed of constitutional advance and the ultimate political status, but also the nature of the elected governments, may be different in each Territory.

BECHUANALAND

Bechuanaland's politics still centre very largely in the tribes. These lie in peace with each other, but in the context of barely disturbed traditional loyalties. A tiny divided nationalist movement with Pan-Africanist sentiments exists in the dusty little towns that collect the unemployed and the Southern African refugees along the railway line. In so far as any territorial political party can be said to exist, it is the Democratic Party, led by Mr. Seretse Khama of the numerous Baman-gawato tribe. The party's strength lies partly in the small but important intellectual elite, mainly teachers, and partly in the allegiance of many of the chiefs. Though hardly militant, there is no question of the party's making a deal with South Africa to become a Bantustan. At the same time it would prefer to keep out of the front-line of the

struggle, and could possibly be influenced by South African pressures to keep the Protectorate neutral.

On the other hand, Bechuanaland is the only one of the three that presents a possible overland route to the north for South African refugees and political leaders; she has a mile-wide frontier with northern Rhodesia where the South African-controlled Caprivi Siphel strip just fails to meet the border of Southern Rhodesia. As Northern Rhodesia has left the Federation, if this frontier can be effectively policed against South African sabotage and counter-espionage, this route could play an important role for South Africa's liberation forces. But would this be welcomed by the Bechuana people? Would it for example jeopardize that half of their beef exports that are now sold in South Africa?

SWAZILAND

Swaziland presents different problems. Its rich mines and fertile soil have attracted 10,000 Europeans and their capital, three-quarters of them from South Africa. About half the land is held in freehold by Europeans, growing mainly sugar, timber and citrus; and most of the rest is owned communally by the "Swazi nation" in the name of their proud and stubborn Paramount Chief Ngwenyama (the Lion) Sobhuza II. The attempt to introduce a constitution for the territory has been delayed by the deep rift between the territory's rapidly growing but still divided nationalist movement on the one hand, and an alliance between the traditionalist Ngwenyama and the European community on the other. The compromise constitution, allowing for a measure of representative government, but reserving a third of the seats for Europeans and others for the traditionalists, is opposed by both sides.

(The constitution came into effect on January 3 this year.—*Editor*).

Swaziland's rich and attractive little economy could at a pinch be extricated from that of South Africa.

A railway line is being built at present to connect with the port of Mozambique. But it would be a costly operation, and bitterly opposed by the Europeans. In this they would probably be joined by the Ngwenyama, whose paternalism and "race federation" ideas bring him into some sympathy with many white South African politicians. Left to himself, he is the most likely of the Protectorates' leaders to take up Dr. Verwoerd's offer of Bantustan status. But of course he will not be left alone. He is losing support to the political parties, which are implacably opposed to closer association with South Africa. If they can unite, particularly on terms that would allow them to retain their present white liberal support, Swaziland could develop over the next decade into a reasonably flourishing non-racial democracy. The present danger lies in the continued existence of splits of which Dr. Verwoerd could conceivably take advantage. Meanwhile he is in a position to neutralize the use of Swaziland as a base for subversion by sealing it off from the outside world, with the active help of the Portuguese government of Mozambique.

BASUTOLAND

Ironically, Basutoland—the most vulnerable to South African pressure—is also the most militant. The largest political party, the Congress Party, led by Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle, shouts defiance across the border, and claims that if his demands for independence were met his friends in Africa and abroad would protect him from Verwoerd's retaliation. Although this party won most of the elected seats in the last elections, it sits in opposition to the nominated Executive Council, and succeeds in making government extremely difficult. Basuto dissatisfaction with their relations with South Africa culminated in the recent rejection by the Assembly of the Resident Commissioner's Speech from the Throne, on the grounds that Britain is not effectively protecting Basuto interests in relation to South Africa. Two other political parties, close runners-up to the Congress Party in size, are being forced to follow its militant policies in the matter

of demanding independence. These demands are also supported, with some caution, by the young, shrewd Paramount Chief, Constantine Bereng Seeiso.

No one doubts the ability of Verwoerd's government to strangle the Basuto nation if he chose, and without raising a Sten gun. This tiny mountainous enclave has not enough land to support its population, even when a third of the adult males are away in South and sending money home. Any alternative sources of employment, such as industry, would depend upon South African markets. Meanwhile, South Africa is sealing air routes for refugees and other South Africans, so as to neutralize the Territory as a potentially hostile base. And the threat of ending Basuto immigration to the Republic hangs over the heads of local people actively helping refugees or revolutionaries.

(As we go to press a constitutional conference is expected to open in London on April 20. It is expected to last two to three weeks.

—Ed.)

What are the choices open to Britain in this situation over the coming year? By the most obvious criteria, Britain has everything to gain by accelerating constitutional advance and getting out as soon as possible. The Territories contribute nothing strategically or materially, they represent a financial drain, and they could provoke a clash with South Africa before Britain wants it or could easily handle it. (After all, the purpose of founding colonies was mainly to secure raw materials: how fallacious is the talk of "assistance"!—*Editor*). Fundamental to this approach, which has significant support inside the Conservative government, is the fact that Britain is not yet prepared to defend itself against charges of helping the "enemies" of South Africa—much less to go on the attack. But the consequences for the Territories of precipitate abandonment by Britain could be serious, particularly if they were unwilling or unable to find other protectors. It is conceivable—and quite possible in Basutoland's case that the future

independent governments of the Territories will make a deliberate policy of exploiting their nuisance value in relation to South Africa. But this could be done only if they were confident of their ability to call the UN—to protect them against economic or military retaliation from South Africa. The result would hardly be restful but it could be preferred and precipitated by a militant nationalist leadership.

Another possibility would be to halt constitutional progress at a pre-independence stage, and leave defence and possibly foreign affairs in the hands of Britain. Although this might be acceptable to the present leadership in Bechuanaland and even to some of the Basuto leaders, it is very doubtful whether it could be maintained for long. Certainly Mokhele would reject it, even though Basutoland stands to gain most from a peaceful relationship with South Africa.

UNITED NATION'S HELP

Finally there is the possibility of a United Nations presence. An idea now being canvassed suggests a UN operation with three objects—to police the frontiers, to provide a massive programme of technical aid and training, and to provide a substantial fund for rapid economic development. It is suggested that Britain can do none of these things on her own. She cannot provide the necessary resources, and as a frontier policeman she might be suspect, especially in view of the history of "good neighbourliness" between the Protectorate police and the South Africans. It would be easier too for the UN to prevent violence directed from the Territories towards South Africa; this would probably have to be a condition for the Secretary-General's accepting the assignment, though it

might not be easy for some African leaders to accept.

At present such an idea is rejected by the British government as potentially unstable and a shelving of her own responsibilities. But it is not impossible that a future government might consider taking the UN into the Territories with it, though probably not simply handing them over. But since even this would signify a radical new determination by the British Government in relation to the Verwoerd Government, the same results might be achieved even though the host would remain the British Government as the sovereign power. Nevertheless, it is probably unrealistic to suppose that whoever became responsible for the frontiers and the economic well-being of the Territories could allow them to be used as a base for revolution, in the sense that Tunisia and Morocco were used by the Algerians. At the same time they could under such an arrangement, become a secure source of refuge and—in the case of Bechuanaland—a route to the north.

Dr. Verwoerd knows very well the risks to his Republic if the Territories found themselves a staunch protector, even if these conditions were enforced. As long as non-racial communities exist on his borders, there is a danger of infection; there will be a constant flow of refugees; and there will be a sympathetic pipeline for revolutionaries. The big question therefore is whether he might risk a decisive confrontation, economic or military, now while Britain remains ambivalent and the UN financially and militarily in pawn to the Congo. The longer Verwoerd leaves it, the surer he can be that the Territories will get

effective outside help if he attacks or tries to strangle them.

On the other hand, he is anxious only would it spoil the argument that apartheid is a domestic matter; it would make it virtually impossible for Britain, technically the aggrieved party, to prevent international action to help restore her sovereignty. Therefore he is most unlikely to use military force against the Protectorates. But the entirely legitimate economic and administrative measures open to him could be almost as effective. Already the squeeze on Protectorate labour in the Republic has begun; the mines are recruiting more from the unemployed pools in the Bantustans; and strict regulations on recruitment of outside labour have been published. Thirty-two border posts have been erected round the Protectorates. Verwoerd would be within his rights to stop the importation of Bechuana beef in the interests of his own farmers. And new arrangements for allocation of South African customs revenue could have immediate and serious effects. The real danger of methods like these is that they involve slow, undramatic and apparently legitimate strangulation, and for that reason are more likely to unnerve, produce steady capital flight, and avoid an open confrontation.

It is clear therefore that the next ten years will be difficult ones for the High Commission Territories, for their role is bound to be a confused one. They cannot avoid the upheavals which will accompany the overthrow of apartheid. At the same time they are strategically and economically too weak to play an independent part in the struggle. The best that can be hoped is that Dr. Verwoerd will not be allowed to use them as hostages in his conflict with the rest of the world.

ANOTHER RACIST FALLS

MR. Winston Field, Prime Minister of the white minority government of Southern Rhodesia, has resigned, as a result of the leadership crisis which has splintered the white settler party which rules the British colony.

It is difficult to imagine that anyone could be more reactionary than Mr. Field, but apparently the present crisis was sparked by factions of his own party who feel that Mr. Field has not been aggressive enough in pushing for independence for the minority group. These factions want Southern Rhodesia more closely allied to the fascist Verwoerd regime in South Africa.

Mr. Field has been trying to win the support of the British Tory government in order to keep Southern Rhodesia from being isolated in world affairs in the sense that

South Africa and Portugal are being isolated more and more everyday.

Of course it is a matter of indifference to Pan-Africanists whether Mr. Field or Mr. Ian Smith, Mr. Field's successor, is head of government. Both are die-hard reactionaries and can in no way purport to represent the African people of Zimbabwe.

The African position is that Southern Rhodesia is still a British colony, and that Britain has responsibility for seeing that the colony evolves into an independent state under a popular government, which is to say that Africans will never accept white minority rule in the territory. The British government has been guilty of dragging its feet on this issue.

Despite several resolutions passed by overwhelming votes at the United Nations and in contempt of the pro-

tests of independent African states, Britain has refused to meet her responsibilities in the territory, claiming that she has no power to act. Moreover, Britain has contributed more fuel to the explosive situation by turning over to the white Rhodesians a sizable modern armed force on the break-up of the Central African Federation last year. Yet it was Britain which insisted on her former colonies that they must hold election after election, based upon one man, one vote, before they became independent. Britain always insisted that it stood for popular democracy.

What is the difference now? Is it because the ruling minority is white? Or is it because of British investments in Southern Rhodesia? In any case, the resignation of Mr. Winston Field should provide Britain its finest opportunity, for ensuring popular democracy in Southern Rhodesia.

WE DEMAND NKOMO'S FREEDOM

THE Bureau of African Affairs has condemned in the strongest terms the arrest of Southern Rhodesia women during demonstrations of their abhorrence of exploitation and oppression by the white minority regime and demanded the immediate release of the women.

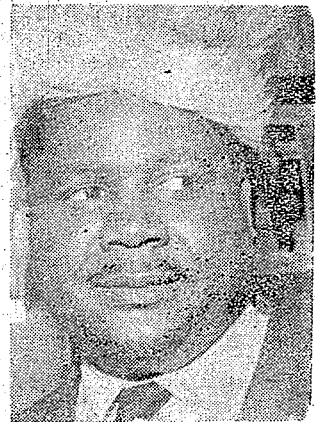
In a statement issued in Accra on April 21, the Bureau also condemned the restriction imposed on the Southern Rhodesian nationalist leader, Mr. Joshua Nkomo, and his colleagues to an area in the Nuanetsi district along the hostile border of Mozambique and white settler South African Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd's Transvaal where their lives would obviously be in danger.

It demanded the immediate release of Mr. Nkomo and his followers and called for a workable constitution reflecting the aspirations and wishes of the majority of the people for Southern Rhodesia.

The statement said: "It is inconceivable that the white settler Government of Ian Smith should sink so low as to take such extreme measure against innocent African women in their legitimate demand for freedom and justice.

"We consider the restriction imposed on Mr. Nkomo and his colleagues as a deliberate attempt to deprive the masses of Southern Rhodesia of progressive leadership and thus retard the progress of the political struggle for freedom and independence.

Britain must be aware of her ignoble role in the despicable policy of the racist Government of Southern Rhodesia", the statement added.



"AFRICAN SOCIALISM"

OR

SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM?

by

Idris Cox

"The People's Political Force has to rid itself of confused thinking on what socialism is. More concretely, it must unfurl the banner of scientific socialism and stop chasing illusions like African Socialism, Arab Socialism, pragmatic socialism, democratic socialism and such other beautiful phrases that cover up a multitude of anti-socialist sins"
—"The Spark" April 3, 1964.

THE newly independent states are still faced with big problems. Experience has proved that political independence alone cannot remove the heritage of colonialism. Moreover, imperialism finds new ways in which to tighten its economic grip, retain its political influence, and exercise its domination. The independent states will have to wage an ever sharper struggle against the strategy of neo-colonialism.

The timeliness of this warning was revealed soon after when President Abbe Youlou of the Republic of Congo (formerly French) was overthrown in August, 1963 and President Maga of Dahomey was forced to resign in October, 1963. In both cases the armed revolt against them was supported by the trade unions.

THE NEXT STEP

What is the next step forward for the independent African States? This is now the subject of intense discussion, not only in Africa, but in the new states in Asia, in the socialist world, and even in Britain.

Will the new African states take the path of capitalist development, or will they advance on the socialist

road? Can they find a "neutral" road which is neither capitalist nor socialist?

Some of the new African states are only just emerging from tribal society, and are only in the earliest stage of building a new nation. Will they be able to "jump" stages of economic and social development and by-pass the path of capitalist development?

Is there a "new" path of capitalist development in the new African states. In most of them the economic grip of overseas monopoly firms is still strong.

The aim of the imperialists was not to build up an independent and balanced national economy, but to extract the maximum amount of natural and mineral wealth, drain away colossal profits, and get the maximum benefit from the declining prices of raw materials and primary products in return for increasing prices for the capital and manufactured goods exported to these countries. This is still the aim and practice of imperialism.

Colonial rule has always been the biggest obstacle to the growth of an independent national economy. The

acceptance of continued imperialist domination will not promote the economic development of the new African states. There is ample evidence in Algeria, Ghana, Guinea, Mali and even Nigeria, that only after achieving political independence has it been possible to embark upon the rapid growth of an independent and balanced national economy.

Capitalist development in Europe depended a good deal, and still does, on the exploitation of colonial resources, just as slavery in the southern states was a big factor in the growth of U.S. capitalism.

NATIONAL CAPITALIST

The African national bourgeoisie (national capitalists) is still small, extremely weak and undeveloped, and scarcely exists as an organised class force. Apart from a few small factories it engaged mainly in trade, generally taking second place to the big overseas monopoly firms. It has no colonial possessions and cannot embark upon colonial expansion. Even if it were possible to do so, it would be resisted even by the

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SOUTH AFRICA — A DOOMED REPUBLIC?

Asks

A Correspondent

WHATEVER else one thinks about South Africa's future nobody—least of all Dr. Verwoerd's Government—believes it can survive for very much longer in its present state. The Republic is doomed; what remain to be settled is its future shape, and whether these changes will come more or less violently.

A new stage has already been reached in South Africa. The arguments are no longer about whether the *status quo* can be preserved but, more realistically, about the conditions under which 3½ million Whites will be able to continue to live in South Africa. The disappearance of White supremacy does not inevitably mean that all Whites will have to leave South Africa. In fact, White society will perish in South Africa only if it commits itself to the hopeless cause of defending White supremacy at all costs. This is the irony of the present confusion.

Should the Whites fail to come to terms with the realities of modern Africa we are going to see a slow, lonely, horrible retreat while the large White population seeks by every means possible to avoid being trapped in the southern corner of Africa. But it will be a trap of their own making. Mrs. Elspeth Huzley is wrong when she says that the Whites in South Africa face a choice between White supremacy and national suicide. That is not the choice at all. White supremacy—national suicide. The way to avoid national suicide is to find alternatives to White supremacy before it is destroyed by violence. The search for such alternatives has already started: but will this search lead anywhere unless there is considerable external pressure as well?

To judge by the pattern of recent events one may expect that South Africa's future will be determined by a process of internal explosions and external pressures on a mounting scale. The explosions will be larger; the pressures will grow sharper; the state will become increasingly more tyrannical; the prisons will be fuller; the hangman will be busier; racial bitterness will become deeper; and international opinion will become increasingly concerned about its proper role in this world colour crisis.

Following up their initiative taken at the Addis Ababa summit conference in May, 1963, the African States can be expected to increase their pressures both on South Africa and on the West.

But they will not seek to invade South Africa with their armies. Their aim will be to extend as rapidly as possible the "presence" of independent Africa to the very frontiers of the Republic. They will concentrate on its soft underbelly—South West Africa—which is a convenient and legitimate international pressure point. They will follow the Ben Bella strategy of giving high priority to military support for Holden Roberto's liberation movement in Angola can hold out. Its collapse could be followed quickly by an internal collapse in Mozambique.

MORE FREE STATES

During this three-year period independence is likely to have been consolidated in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, and the political and economic skids will have begun to send Southern Rhodesia reeling. The three British High Commission Territories will have become

self-governing, and possibly independent. There will no longer be an effective buffer between the Republic and independent Africa. These changes will radically affect the balance of forces inside South Africa.

Within the next three years, too, a much less amateurish underground movement can be expected to be operating inside the Republic—strengthened by military training now being given to "liberation fighters," and by the shortening of the lines of communication and supplies to the nearest independent African states.

The total result of all these developments is likely to be that the UN will become much more involved in proposals to set up a UN blockade of South African ports. This idea of a naval blockade is bound to be seen increasingly as the only practical alternative to economic sanctions voluntarily adopted, or to military intervention. After its experience in the Congo, the UN is hardly likely to mount a UN force against South Africa's powerful army. This could not be a "peace force". It would have to be a powerful combat force: the parallel would be Korea rather than the Congo.

A blockade, on the other hand, might come to be seen by the UN as having a number of positive advantages. There are precedents for it (Spain, and more recently Cuba). It would avoid large-scale killing. It would avoid the danger of having troops from the Big Powers (alone capable of dealing effectively with the South African Army) on the Republic's soil at the critical point of the transfer of power. Above all, it would be

flexible: it could be applied like a tourniquet to increase or decrease pressure to achieve certain fixed objectives.

The main objective of the UN, presumably, would be to compel the South African Government to call a national convention of representative leaders from all the communities to work out a new, acceptable constitution. Agreement to call such a conference could be met by a slackening of the embargo. If it seemed that negotiations were not being genuinely pursued, the embargo could be lightened again.

Another advantage that might be claimed for the blockade is that it could impose a selective system of sanctions if this were felt necessary either to prevent a total collapse inside South Africa or to avert too serious upsets in world trade (e.g., gold shipments, British trade, etc.). Also, it would remove the weakness of a UN call for voluntary economic sanctions: faced with a naval blockade, dissenters would have little option but to keep their ships away.

We are bound to hear a great deal about the obvious drawbacks: how to prevent the embargo from pressing too hard on the High Commission Territories and the Rhodesia: how to avert the initial danger of blockade ships being sunk by torpedoes which, at this time, are still being supplied by the United States and Britain to South Africa. Nevertheless, one can predict that more and more is going to be heard of this idea of a naval blockade.

In assessing the likely course of events in Southern Africa it is important not to fall into the error of seeing the struggle as confined to the powerful White forces vs. the comparatively weak and immobilised African forces. Ultimately, external forces will play a vital part in redressing the present imbalance of power inside the Republic. The Verwoerd Government cannot continue to contain internal ferment while taking on the rest of the world as well.

It is important to remember, too, that the White forces are not natu-

rally united. At a certain level of national crisis there is no doubt that 80-90 per cent of White South Africans will join the laager. But as the crisis mounts, the inherent splits begin to appear. If South Africa's past history is anything to go by, one can expect to see, as happened to the Voortrekkers, leaders disagreeing with each other and trekking away to establish their own separate laagers each with his own ideas for insuring survival. Already, White opinion in the Republic is deeply divided; nor is this division just between the supporters and opponents of apartheid, but within the apartheid camp itself.

As South Africa becomes increasingly isolated within the world community, doubts among Whites will continue to rise; and with the rising doubts will come new proposals for alternatives to White supremacy. It is worthwhile to examine the kind of ideas now contesting for influence in White South Africa.

DISILLUSIONMENT

Dr. Verwoerd's way of changing South Africa is to establish a pattern of separate White and Black states—his notion of Bantustans. It is possible to predict with certainty that these Bantustans will not achieve their purpose. Economically they cannot be made viable, and politically they are unable to develop real self-governing powers. Already, Dr. Verwoerd's first choice of a Bantustan leader, Chief Kaiser Matanzima of the Transkei, is proving to be a doubtful ally. A furious heave to get the Transkei "off the ground" has been accompanied by a failure to get past the first square in Zululand. Bantustans are bound to produce disillusionment. Yet the Verwoerd Government rests its policies entirely on their success. What happens when their failure becomes too apparent to ignore or deny?

One already hears voices inside the Afrikaner nationalist camp preparing to retreat towards a new prepared line of territorial partition—throwing over board the Eastern Cape, Natal, the Northern Transvaal and the present seven designated Bantustans. Territorial partition is likely to be supported as a



Chief Albert Luthuli

"our people are reclaiming their land, their dignity as men, their nationhood"

second line of defence by White South Africans, except of course by those who live in the areas to be jettisoned. The Afrikaner nationalists will, however, have to be extremely careful of their timing if they are to change from the idea of Bantustans to full partition.

To raise the issue prematurely could spell defeat (because of the loss of seats in the areas to be jettisoned) and could bring into power the United Party led by Sir de Villiers Graaff.

Such a change of government might win a temporary reprieve for White South Africa. Western pressures would at once be diminished to "give the new government a chance". In this way two or three years of indecision might again overtake South Africa. The United Party is of course as unwilling to surrender White power as are the Afrikaner nationalists. They favour economic integration and a milder form of social segregation. They would change the constitution to provide for a "racial federation" rather than a territorial one. Africans would be allowed a say in such a federation, but theirs would be a tiny minority voice.

NON-RACIAL DEMOCRACY

Nevertheless, the relief of scrapping the nightmare apparatus of apartheid legislation could produce a false dawn. Also, it is just conceivable that if the United Party came to power it might be willing to accept the more convincing constitutional proposals of its break-away wing, the Progressive Party. The Progressive's ideas for a federal constitution are more radical: they seek by an intelligent system of checks and balances and entrenched safeguards to provide a representative form of government for all races, but on the principle that no one race should be able to dominate the other. It is this principle that is rejected today by the African nationalists and by the White liberals: they insist on an undiluted, non-racial democracy.

What of the non-whites? Their leadership will probably continue to reject Bantustans, partition, the UP "racial federation", and the Progressive Party's "Balance of power" constitutions. Despite the bitterness of the present struggle, they refuse to look at any proposals that do not mean the end of White supremacy or the development of South Africa as a single, undivided state for all its peoples. Although more Africans are becoming increasingly racist, the leadership is still strongly pledged to an inter-racial society. South Africa has not yet reached the breaking-point between White and non-White; but racist stirrings are unmistakable. They must increasingly affect the ultimate outcome of the struggle, unless it comes quickly and without too much violence.

It would, however, be a mistake to assume too readily the political unity of all Africans, let alone of Asians and Coloureds. So deep is the suffering of the people today, and so demoralized are many of them, that if there were to be a United Party Government with even a vague hope that it would release them from the thumbscrew of apartheid, one might expect to see the emergence of an influential band of "moderate" leaders, willing to compromise for the sake of achieving a less oppressive society.

Thus, shifts in the pattern of White politics would bring with it shifts in the pattern of non-White politics. A White overture to Africans to swap apartheid for Smuts' type of segregation would impose on the African Nationalist leaders an even more difficult fight to achieve their single objective: the destruction of White supremacy.

It is easier, therefore, to foresee the defeat of the Verwoerd Government and even of apartheid, than it is to foresee the end of White supremacy. Yet, no one should doubt that South Africa's travail will continue until, one day, fully representative government has been achieved. There are bound to be

many changes before that final stage is reached; but the greatest single hope of all South Africans must be that the final settlement will come while there is still a chance of fitting, if not all of the 3½ million Whites, at least the great majority of them, into the new South African society. And that can happen only if large scale violence can be averted, and if the build-up of racism can be checked in the next two or three years. Today, it is still the desire of African leadership to see South Africa develop into a non-racial society in which there will be a future for Whites as well as non-Whites. Will that still be the wish of the African leadership in ten years from now?

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QUEEN NZINGA OF ANGOLA

by

Castro Soromenho

NZINGA Mbandi Ngola was born under the fiery sky of Kouanza, in Cabassa, the Capital of Ngola. Lying amidst the vast stretches of land in the region of Dongo, this kingdom is bordered by the Dande river to the north, by the highlands of Libolo and the steppes of Benguela to the south, by the Matamba plateau on the east, and by the states of Quicama and Ilamba to the west. (These states paid tribute to the Ngola kingdom, and the barren region which opened on the Atlantic served as a landmark for the Jagas).

Nzinga's father, Ngola Kiluangi, the most renowned of the Ambundo warriors, resisted the Portuguese invaders who, in order to lay a road leading to the mines of Cambambe, waged a merciless war against him.

When Nzinga was born in 1581 the tom-toms of the Dongo country resounded in honour of the king, her father, who had just driven the royal Congolese army of 60,000 soldiers and 50 Portuguese, back beyond the frontiers. In this way, he barred the way of the Whites who had allied themselves with the Congolese in order to more easily gain access to the "mountains of silver" in Cambambe.

From that day until the time of his death in 1617, the famous Ngola lived with his arms in hand, experiencing diverse fortunes while waging fierce combat against the Portuguese. The latter were allied with the JAGAS and the sobal who were hoping to escape paying tribute to Ngola's kingdom by helping the Portuguese.

The Portuguese were not only looking for these rich mines, but especially for slaves. When captured, the slaves were branded and shipped to some destination in the Americas. Only by establishing the Slave-trade (in other words, the wars of "Kuata! Kuata!"—Catch! Catch!) in the human fish-ponds of Ilamba and Quicama, could the conquest undertaken by the Portu-

guese be carried out. It was from these areas that the Portuguese first captured prisoners, whom they subsequently used as slave-soldiers with the Jagas and white gunsmiths, in order to attack Ngola and they spread out like a running sore into the kingdoms of Matambame Benguela.

The sobas along the littoral used to sell slaves to the Portuguese on the coast who were seeking to buy them. But by now the Congo "pond" had been nearly exhausted, and the price increased because of the influx of merchants from São Tomé where the clergy had been accorded privileges. Furthermore, these slaves were thought of as being of "inferior quality", meaning that they were war-slaves or slaves condemned to death. None of the chiefs sold their own people into slavery. The Portuguese then began to use the Jagas as "hunting dogs who would bring back game to them in the form of slaves", and launched invasions into the territories of Quicama and Ilamba.

Ngola Kiluangi knew the Portuguese because of their dealings with the King of the Congo. They had entered the country brandishing the Cross, which they used as a pretext in order to set up trading centers, and to transport slaves down to the port. Forwanned, he refused to allow them to evangelize, but did not close his country to commerce. Because he refused the Gospel to be preached and the Slave-trade to be instituted, the Portuguese declared war against him. The Jesuit priests served as *captains* in the "Kuata Kuata" battles, during the course of which the Jagas would bring them slaves to be branded,

hurriedly baptized and then imprisoned in the holds of ships sailing towards Brazil.

When Ngola Kiluangi died, his daughter NZINGA was already a woman and a mother. From her father, she inherited pride, courage, tenacity and hatred of the foreigner. These qualities added to her prestige when she became Queen of Dongo and Matamba. It was her great intelligence, however, which really made her famous and which attracted the attention of the Ambundos and the Portuguese.

Her political and warlike genius, allied to her high conception of justice serving the ends of her people, conferred upon her an eminent rank in the history of Angola. This woman's life was prodigious. Her kingdom was taken from her; war was waged against her in order to enslave her people, but she conquered another kingdom to carry on the fight against the foreign usurper. She lost many battles, but never the war. She lived and died **Queen**.

Her father had left three daughters and two sons. One of the sons, Ngola Mbandi, was a bastard. He was ambitious and cunning. After his father's death, he weaved an intrigue which finally led to his enthronement. Following this betrayal, he had the heads of his brother and nephew (Nzinga's son), as well as those of other high personages, chopped off. (The latter, who were the old king's enemies,

had supported Mbandi).

Faced with such terror, Nzinga fled the country and went into hiding in the highlands of Matamba. This was in 1617. She knew very well how pusillanimous and cruel her brother could be. Because of this, she bided her time far away from all intrigues. Her son's murderer, responsible for so much blood flowing in Cabassa, would soon be made to pay for his misdeeds.

From the heights of the Matamba coast, Nzinga's spies kept her informed of the fortunes, both good and bad, of the Portuguese, and of their alliances with the sobas and agreements with the Jagas. The latter were bands of mercenary warriors who originated from different countries, and whose ranks were filled with adventurers, slaves in flight, and others condemned to death. These outlaws formed their armies from young war prisoners. They were subjected to a severe discipline. Family life was forbidden them and any child born in their camps was killed.

They were not bound to any ties of land or to the peoples of the countries in which they lived. They were bound to each other by their own rituals—anthro-pophagism among others. In this soldier-slave-hunter life, they sold themselves to the highest bidder. The Portuguese used them as mercenaries, and they contributed greatly to the implantation of the colonial régime. It is due partly to their intervention that the Slave-trade acquired so incomparable and extension. Their development—as a result of the "Kuata! Kuata!" wars and the trek towards the mines—also led to the practice of anthro-pophagism being extended into other areas. They were the only ones to eat human flesh. The people of the older tribes, occupying the regions situated between the Zaire and Kunene rivers, as well as those areas extending from the Atlantic to the limits of Louanda (present day Angola), feared them and were revolted by their practices.

From her refuge in Matamba, Nzinga learned that Portuguese gunners, thousands of archers and two battalions of Jagas were approaching the Cambambe mines of the

Dongo country, not far from the city of Cabassa. At the first shots fired from the mountain, King Mbandi fled and sought refuge in the island of Kouanza. The Ambundos were disgraced. The king's wisest advisers counselled him to send emissaries to his sister Nzinga, in order to ask her to negotiate for peace with the Portuguese.

In Matamba, Nzinga received the emissaries and unhesitatingly accepted the mission of pleading her brother's cause. She travelled to Loanda at the head of an embassy and negotiated the peace. She did so as an equal, refusing to become a vassal. Those who listened to her arguments could not contain their astonishment, so skillfully did she deploy intelligence and political tact, and also because they knew that her own brother had assassinated her only son.

She defended the Ngola Kingdom and its people more competently than the king. Her dead son did not come under the heading of affairs of state. The Portuguese Government revised its terms, and peace was established by an alliance between the Kingdoms of Ngola and Portugal. Then, purely for political reasons, Ngola consented to being baptized. The ceremony was carried out in Loanda with great pomp and before an assembly of Portuguese; the Governor was her godfather and gave her the name of Sousa.

When she returned to her country, she met a soba, her uncle in this instance, who was going to Loanda to recognize the sovereignty of Portugal. She had him beheaded on the spot.

The Governor did not keep his promises. The alliance was still-born and the King of the Ambundos was not courageous enough to seek revenge, nor even to re-enter his own capital. Nzinga had him poisoned. The tom-toms announced his death, and she proclaimed herself Queen of Ngola. For the Portuguese Government, she immediately made herself known by the name of Ana de Sousa, Queen of Dongo. This name was all that she retained from her conversion to Catholicism.

Mbandi's rule had created a critical situation. The kingdom was

menaced by the Cassange Jagas who had supported the Portuguese during the wars against the kingdoms of Ngola and Matamba.

Several feudal chiefs revolted, and Nzinga attacked them as soon as they attempted to put themselves into the pay of the foreigner. By allying themselves with Portugal, they hoped to guarantee the independence of their chiefs and also to liberate themselves from the Jagas. The Portuguese fomented disunity in order to obtain soldiers for their conquering army.

When Aiidi Kiluangi, chief of a large tribe in Dongo sought the protection of the foreigner, the queen started a war in which the Portuguese were deeply involved and supported by the army of the Jagas of Cassange. Defeated because of superior weapons, Nzinga abandoned the field of battle, and from one refuge to another finally returned to Matamba. A new kingdom was created in Dongo, under Portuguese guardianship. The capital was transferred to Pungo-Andongo, and a loyal Ngola was enthroned, Nzinga never recognized him as king, but he was maintained as such by the arms of colonialism. This situation endured for half a century.

Nzinga Mbandi Ngola was 40 years of age when she returned to Matamba, the territory of the Ngolas and the Jagas. She had herself proclaimed queen, and to this title, added that of Queen of Ngola. Henceforth, she is known in history as Queen Jinga. But it was as "Ana, Queen of Dongo", that she waged for 30 years against the Portuguese to free her native land.

During the course of this struggle, uninterrupted by any truce, she allied herself to the Jagas, the King of the Congo, to the Dutch and to all the chiefs who were opposed to man-hunts. She never forsook her plan to expel the Portuguese and to oblige them to re-embark on the ships which had brought them to Angola. She continued the fight her father had waged, on an even greater scale. Together, they sustained this heroic war for 70 years.

From the coast to the approaches of Matamba the Jaga bands were

Continued on page 18

LETTER TO COMMONWEALTH

Africans in Southern Rhodesia are rightly demanding a constitutional conference which will lead to the formation of a democratic government for the colony.

For the African majority the only logical step to be taken after the break-up of the imposed Rhodesian Federation is for the British Government to set aside the racist constitution of 1961 and convene a well-represented constitutional conference.

In the letter which follows, the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) calls on Mr. Winston Field and the Southern Rhodesian "government" for the immediate holding of constitutional talks for the colony.

Copies of the letter have been sent to Mr. Duncan Sandys, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, and to all Commonwealth countries.

DEAR Sir,

Following up our letter to Mr. Butler, a copy of which I sent to you on 11th October, 1963, my Central Committee has decided that I raise the following issues with you:—

1. The Economic Position: ZANU is alarmed at the shrivelling of the economy of the country. We note that businesses are going North; that there is a terrible slump in industry; that throughout the country unemployment is scaring; that company bankruptcies are on the increase; and that lately there has been a popular protest from the businessmen against the sales tax.

ZANU believes that this general erosion of the economy of the country will continue to rise in an upward trend until a climax is reached when both the economy and security will break and collapse. We believe firmly that this trend is not irreverable. There is a relation between the present economic instability and the African mass rejection of the 1961 Constitution.

2. Justice and Security:

ZANU has noted that from this year's budgetary appropriations, £5,456,873 is being set aside—Justice—£505,500; Law and Order—£141,373; and B.S.A.P.—£4,840,000 per votes 10, 11 and 12 respectively. This to us means that this country is gradually becoming a police state. Notwithstanding the expansion of the police force by introducing the police reserve, crimes under Law and Order, and other allied security laws, have continued, but the

security no more assured. This general insecurity has scared investment out of the country.

3. The 1961 Constitution:

ZANU is aware that your Party—the Rhodesian Front—was opposed to the 1961 Constitution because it did not sufficiently entrench white minority rights. On the other hand, the African people were and are still opposed to this Constitution because it does not protect majority rights. This bipolarity of postures has produced the present deadly impasse which is steadily ruining the country. For your Party, my Party, and any other party in this country, this presents a challenge for state-manship.

To watch this deterioration and do nothing about it is to connive at a national suicide. ZANU believes the answer is to be found in a fresh Constitutional Conference where all major political parties shall be represented to resolve these political problems.

4. The dissolution of the Federation: ZANU welcomes the dissolution of the Federation as bringing to an end a super-imposed experiment. We note that your Government is to assume those powers and responsibilities that belonged to the Federal sphere, but which lie outside the 1961 Constitution. ZANU is aware, as you certainly must be, that the Federal laws were mainly enabling Acts. To enforce them the Federal Government promulgated Regulations. The bulk of these Regulations were discriminatory on grounds of race. As a result of this

there have been European and African hospitals; European and African Regiments and many other varying conditions in the Federal Public Service.

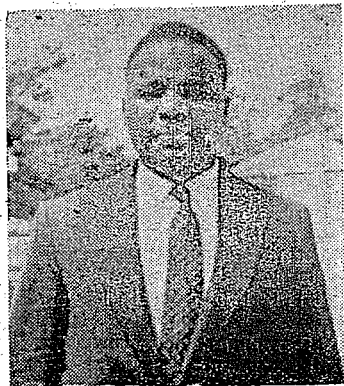
ZANU believes that if these Regulations are to be promulgated by your Government to implement these Federal Laws, they will further infringe on the Declaration of Rights. In our view only a properly constituted Constitutional Conference can work out acceptable ways and means of absorbing Federal responsibilities.

5. Isolationist Position: ZANU is aware of the gradual but certain diplomatic and economic isolation of Southern Rhodesia as a result of international and African pressures for constitutional change. Such isolation is bound to result in a progressive economic instability. In our view, to prevent this evil eventuality, a Constitutional Conference must be summoned without any further delay.

ZANU, which has been pre-occupied with these and many other related national problems, has a set of proposals to present at such a conference.

Your Party which happens to be the present Government bears a serious responsibility in the solution of these problems. We therefore, call on you and your Government to take immediate steps leading to the convening of a Constitutional Conference. We feel this must be done for the good of all the people who live in this country.

Yours faithfully,



N. Sithole, President

THE SOUTHERN RHODESIAN ISSUE

SINCE 1923 Southern Rhodesia has been a self-governing colony. Under the Constitution granted to it in that year, the Government legislate upon any subject, but the United Kingdom Government retained certain powers of control including the power to disallow certain legislation.

In 1953 Southern Rhodesia voluntarily entered the Federation of the Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and by virtue of power to legislate upon the subjects which were reserved to the Federal Legislature, retaining however its power to legislate upon those subjects not so reserved.

In 1961 a referendum of the electorate resulted in the granting of a new Constitution to Southern Rhodesia which came into force in November, 1962. The United Kingdom Government gave up its reserved powers in exchange for a widened franchise, special provisions for seats in the Legislature controlled by an African electorate, a Declaration of Rights and Constitutional Council, provisions for which matters were made in the new Constitution and Electoral Act. These provisions were intended to substitute 'internal' controls over the Legislature and Executive for the 'external' controls previously exercised by the United Kingdom Government.

In 1963 the United Kingdom Government announced its intention of dissolving the Federation and that process is now being carried out.

Legal Background

The Declaration of Rights:

The Constitution of Southern Rhodesia embodies a Declaration of Rights. *Inter alia* it affords protection to the subject against laws which deprive him of his rights to life, personal liberty, equal protection of the laws, freedom of con-

science, privacy, freedom of expression, freedom of assembly, or which impose upon him slavery or forced labour, inhuman treatment or deprivation of property. In particular it affords him protection from discrimination on grounds of race, tribe, colour or creed which may be imposed by written laws or governmental action.

If any person alleges that any of the provisions of the Declaration of Rights is being contravened in relation to him, he may apply to the High Court for redress, which would normally take the form of a declaration that the law was unconstitutional or the action invalid. (Section 71).

The Constitutional Council:

A Constitutional Council independent of the Legislature and of the Executive, is established which has the power to consider any Bill passed by the Legislative Assembly and to report whether in the opinion of the Council it is inconsistent with the Declaration of Rights. In spite of an adverse report by the Council such Bill may become law if either it is approved by a two-thirds majority of the Legislative Assembly or it is approved by a simple majority of the Assembly after the expiry of 6 months from the date it was first laid before the Council. (Section 84).

In regard to the statutory instruments, i.e. regulations promulgated by the government on the authority of an Act of Parliament, such Legislation must be laid before the constitutional Council, who must state whether in its opinion such instrument is inconsistent with the Declaration of Rights. If an adverse report is made such instrument is invalid unless it is approved by a simple majority of the Legislative Assembly. (Section 86). The fact

that the Legislative Assembly approves such Act or instrument after an adverse report by the Constitutional Council does not deprive the courts of their jurisdiction to invalidate such law as being inconsistent with the Declaration of Rights.

Savings:

Two important savings apply to the above provisions.

(a) If the law in question was in force immediately before the date upon which the Constitution came into force, or is a law which re-enacts without amendment a law which was in force immediately before that date, nothing contained in or done under the authority of such law may be held to be inconsistent with the Declaration of Rights. (Section 70 (3)).

This, for example, discriminatory legislation passed by the Southern Rhodesia Legislative Assembly prior to November 1962, and discriminatory legislative passed at any time by the Federal Assembly, is not subject to annulment by reason of the fact that it is contrary to the provisions of the Declaration of Rights. No protection exists against discriminatory action of the Government done under the authority of such laws.

Effect of the Break up of the Federation.

Upon the break-up of the Federation it became necessary to legislate for the transfer of the functions of the Federal Legislature and Executive to the three Territories, of the Federation. As far as Southern Rhodesia was concerned there were at least two ways in which this could have been achieved:

(a) The Southern Rhodesia Legislature might have legislated to assume control over the functions

of the Federal Government and the Federal Legislature might, reciprocally, have legislated to divert the Federal Government of these functions.

(b) The United Kingdom Parliament might, with the consent of the Federal Government, have legislated to transfer control over the functions of the Federal Legislature and Executive to the Southern Rhodesia Legislature and Executive either immediately; or after a certain time or until a certain time. The United Kingdom Government adopted the record of these alternatives.

By an Act of the United Kingdom Parliament (The Rhodesia and Nyasaland Act of 1963) the United Kingdom Government was empowered by Order in Council to provide for the dissolution of the Federation and *inter alia* for the continuance as respects any of the Territories, of existing laws in force in the territory immediately before dissolution. By Order in Council of the 1st October (No. 1635 of 1963) the Government did so provide for the transfer to Southern Rhodesia of the power to make laws and for the continuance in force of certain laws specified in the Schedules to the Order (Section 1 (2) and 3 (1) of the Order in Council).

Not all the functions of the Federal Government have been transferred in terms of the Order, for the following subjects, *inter alia*, remain to be dealt with by a further Order in Council:

External Affairs, Extradition, Defence, Irrigation and Emigration, Aliens, Citizenship, Primary and Secondary Education of persons other than Africans, Higher Education including the higher education of Africans, Deportation, Naturalisation, Security Information and Broadcasting.

The result is that Federal laws on the subjects listed in the Schedules, are, *mutatis mutandis*, to continue in force in Southern Rhodesia and will be after the appointed day administered by the Southern Rhodesia Government.

Constitutional Results Flowing from the Adoption of the Above Course.

The Act in terms of which the functions are to be transformed and the laws of the Federation continued in operation is an Act of the United Kingdom Parliament.

The laws which in terms of the Order in Council are to be applied to Southern Rhodesia are therefore not "Acts" as defined in section 116 of the Constitution, nor "laws" as defined in section 83, because they were not passed by or enacted by or made under the authority of an Act of the Legislature of Southern Rhodesia. Such laws can only be "Federal laws" or laws of the United Kingdom.

If they can be regarded as "Federal laws" then section 70 (3) of the Constitution specifically excludes "any Federal law" from the application of the Declaration of Rights.

If they can be regarded as "United Kingdom laws" then section 72 of the Constitution excludes laws which are not passed by the Legislature of Southern Rhodesia from the application of the Declaration of Rights.

Whether they are to be regarded as "Federal laws" or as "United Kingdom laws" the Constitutional Council cannot make an adverse report on them because they have never been presented to the Legislative Assembly as a Bill (Section 84), and the Council cannot advise the Governor that they are inconsistent with the Declaration of Rights because it may only do so for acts enacted by the Legislature of Southern Rhodesia (Section 87 and 116); and the council cannot give an adverse report upon any such statutory instrument because it has not been made under the authority of an Act of the Legislature of Southern Rhodesia (sections 86 and 83).

That such a result is highly objectionable will be argued later.

What other course was open to the United Kingdom Government?
Transfer of Powers:

It was not open to the United Kingdom Government to prevent

the transfer of powers to the Southern Rhodesia Legislature and Executive.

As explained above, in 1962 the United Kingdom Government surrendered all rights to legislate for Southern Rhodesia or to disallow the legislation of the Southern Rhodesia Assembly. There are what may be described as 'internal' checks upon the freedom of the Southern Rhodesia Legislative Assembly to legislate. They are contained in Chapter IX of the Constitution (relating to laws inconsistent with the Declaration of Rights), in section 9 relating to amendments to the franchise laws) in section 103 (relating to Tribal Trust Land) and in section 32 (relating to financial and treaty obligations of the United Kingdom).

But the only 'external' check upon the power of the Legislative Assembly to legislate for the good government of Southern Rhodesia is that imposed by section 117 (1), which provides that the provisions of the constitution shall be read and construed subject to the express provisions of the Federal Constitution. It is the Federal Constitution which limits the right of the Southern Rhodesia Legislative Assembly to legislate upon Federal subjects.

Once the Federal Constitution is repealed, as must happen upon the dissolution of the Federation, this limitation falls upon any subject it chooses. The United Kingdom Government have no legal power to prevent this.
Keeping alive the Federal Constitution:

The United Kingdom Government can, in theory, keep the Federal Constitution in existence with Southern Rhodesia as the only Territory in the "Federation", allowing Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland to secede. But apart from political and practical considerations which would make this course impossible to adopt, the continuance in force of the Federal Constitution would prevent the United Kingdom from legislating for Southern Rhodesia or from transferring the Federal functions to some other body than the Federal or the Southern Rhodesia Governments. To do so would in-

volve an amendment to the Federal Constitution which could only be effected by the Federal legislature (section 97 of the Federal Constitution) with the approval of the Southern Rhodesia Legislative Assembly (section 98 of the Federal Constitution).

Refusal to transfer Federal Legislation:

3. The transfer of the Federal powers to the Southern Rhodesia Legislative Assembly is not the same thing as the transfer of Federal legislation. The United Kingdom Government could simply have repealed the Federal Constitution, and left the Government of Southern Rhodesia free to introduce legislation either by way of separate bills upon each Federal subject, or by way of a general bill adopting Federal legislation. Either of such courses would have resulted in the legislation falling under such provisions of the Declaration of Rights and under the jurisdiction of the Constitutional Council.

The application of Federal legislation to the three Territories was presumably done at their request. It avoided any hiatus between the lapsing of Federal laws and the coming into force of equivalent Territorial legislation, and avoided throwing upon the Territorial governments the impossible task of making provision for legislation upon the innumerable Federal subjects transferred to them. A refusal to transfer Federal legislation would have embarrassed the Northern Territories as much as Southern Rhodesia.

The Third alternative

4. A perfectly feasible alternative was and still is open to the United Kingdom Government. Federal legislation could be applied to Southern Rhodesia for a limited period of one or two years, during which period it would be necessary for the Southern Rhodesia Legislative Assembly to introduce its own legislation upon each Federal subject, and after which period the Federal legislation would lapse. As each such Bill was passed it would fall within the purview of the Constitutional Council and be subject to the Declaration of Rights. But the adoption of this course would

allow the Southern Rhodesia Government a breathing space in which to prepare legislation which would not conflict with the Declaration of Rights and in which to prepare its administration for the introduction of non-racial services in such fields as Health, Education, Defence and Irrigation and something which could not be done overnight.

It must be emphasised that the United Kingdom Government could achieve this result in a perfectly legal fashion, without breach of any constitutional conventions or precedents.

Objections to the Adoption of the above course and replies thereto:

It may be objected that the electorate of Southern Rhodesia adopted the 1962 Constitution on the understanding that the Declaration of Rights and the supervisory activity of the Constitutional Council would not be applied to existing Southern Rhodesia legislation nor to Federal legislation; that the dissolution of the Federation was then unforeseen; that Federal legislation in existence in November 1962 should therefore be treated on the same basis as Southern Rhodesia legislation in existence that date; and that it would be a clear breach of the 'spirit' of the Constitution and an immoral act if the United Kingdom Government were to place Federal legislation on a different footing.

This argument is invalid for a number of reasons:

The electorate of Southern Rhodesia at the time of the referendum was not representative of the people of Southern Rhodesia being representative of European opinion only; were the people of Southern Rhodesia to be consulted there can be no doubt that a large majority would wish for all legislation to be made subject to the Declaration of Rights and to the Constitutional Council.

2. The 'spirit' of the Federal Constitution at the time of its adoption was clearly opposed to any dissolution of the Federation. Yet the United Kingdom Government looked beyond the 'spirit' of the Constitution to the realities of the situation which were that majority of the people of the Federation

desired its dissolution. The 'spirit' of the Federal Constitution did not stand in the way of the United Kingdom Government when once it determined to do what was right, and the 'spirit' of the Southern Rhodesia Constitution should not now stand in its way if majority opinion demands that it do right.

3. The reason why the Southern Rhodesia Constitution contains a clause prohibiting that Constitution from in any way affecting Federal legislation is that at the time the Constitution was being negotiated, amendments to the Federal Constitution were being considered, and it was contemplated that a Declaration of Rights would be included in that Constitution. This was never done. Sir Edgar Whitehead, who was Prime Minister at the time, is the authority for the above statement (see Southern Rhodesia Hansard 1st October, 1963, page 1822).

4. At the time that the Southern Rhodesia electorate adopted the Constitution, the United Kingdom Government was in no legal position to impose its will upon the Colony. It was bound by convention not to legislate for Southern Rhodesia. The United Kingdom Government accepted the Constitution as representing a compromise between the demands of the Southern Government for increased responsibility and status and the demands of the majority of the people of Southern Rhodesia for a say in their own Government. The compromise failed in the result because the people of Southern Rhodesia has rejected it. A new solution must therefore be sought.

Fortuitously the United Kingdom Government now finds itself vested with powers which it did not have at the time the Constitution was being negotiated. It now has a bargaining factor for it can refuse to transfer Federal legislation unless it is made subject to the provisions of the Constitution. This refusal would face the Southern Rhodesia Government with the prospect of having to legislate itself, and by virtue of the Declaration of Rights having to establish non-racial schools, hospitals, regiments, prisons etc., a prospect which is entire

repugnant to the electorate upon which it depends for its power. If the Southern Rhodesia Government were unwilling to take this course, the United Kingdom Government could, in exchange for the transfer of legislation free of the Declaration of Rights, wring substantial concessions as to the widening of the franchise laws from the Southern Rhodesia Government. Whether bargain may eventually be struck, the United Kingdom Government should not abandon its powers without demanding a *quid pro quo*.

5. It is unrealistic to appeal to any moral considerations which might impel the United Kingdom Government to transfer Federal legislation unconditionally. The moral consideration which must override all others is that racial discrimination in Southern Rhodesia must be brought to an end. The United Kingdom Government has the duty to effect such changes if it is within its power to do so. *Further objections and some answers thereto:*

It may be objected that it is not financially possible for the Southern Rhodesia Government to introduce a non-racial administration of Education, Health, Defence etc., and at the same time to maintain standards it presently achieves; that to do so would mean a drop in standards which would result in a large exodus of European capital and skills.

This argument is invalid for a number of reasons:

The electorate of Southern Rhodesia have had forty years in which to bring about a non-racial society gradually and have not done so. At the last election they rejected the party whose policy was to commence bringing about such change and installed in office of party whose policy was opposed to such change. There is no hope of such change being brought about voluntarily.

2. If services of good standard cannot be extended to the entire population by reason of shortage of finance, then standards should be maintained by extending such services to a portion of the population selected upon a basis which is not racial.

3. If such changes are not made now by peaceful and legal means,

they will be effected in the future by violent and illegal means and greater flight of capital and skills will occur.

4. The United Kingdom Government could by agreement meet the Southern Rhodesia Government extend all Federal legislation and allow it to lapse in stages convenient to the latter Government. This would allow the Southern Rhodesia Government to introduce non-racial services gradually and avoid sudden strains upon its resources of capital and personnel.

It may be objected that since the United Kingdom Government has already agreed to transfer all, and has already transferred some Federal legislation to Southern Rhodesia, it cannot now reverse the process or go back upon its agreement, without straining its relations with Southern Rhodesia Government to the possible disadvantages of the African population.

This argument is invalid for the following reasons:

If the agreement was made in ignorance of the constitutional consequence it was culpable ignorance, and the error should not be allowed to prejudice the interests of the people of Southern Rhodesia. If it was made in full knowledge of the consequences, then it was immoral for the interests of the people were never consulted.

2. The relationship between the United Kingdom Government and the Southern Rhodesia Government cannot, since the coming into effect of the new Constitution, assist the African people of Southern Rhodesia in any way. The opportunity to exercise moral influence was conspicuously useless while South Africa was in the Commonwealth and will be equally useless in relation to Southern Rhodesia.

Conclusion:

The United Kingdom Government has always protested at the United Nations that it has no power to interfere with the internal affairs of Southern Rhodesia. In view of the break-up of the Federation that argument has lost its validity, since the legal right to influence the future course of things in Southern Rhodesia has now fallen into the hands of the United Kingdom Government.

QUEEN NZINGA

Continued from page 13

multiplying and forming the van of a conquering army. To resist these mercenaries, Nzinga set up a camp, and herself became one. Only she, not her people whom she defended and placed above all other. She did this in order to pit Jaga troops against others, to meet terror with terror, and to prevent the children of her country from becoming enslaved.

The conquerors, however, did not leave Cambambe. An open road, cutting across the Dongo country, led to the black rocks of Pungo-Andongo where the Ngola, who had been crowned by the Portuguese, lived. From there to the sea, throughout the entire Dongo country, Quicama, Ilamba and the neighbouring territories, a road was laid out for the caravan slave traffic. Once in Loanda, with their feet in irons and baptized on the public square, the slaves were ushered, naked and chained, into the holds of vessels bound for Brazil. Nzinga was the only free tribal chief throughout this devastated land. She remained alone in the midst of this storm, enveloped in her pride, magnificent in her arrogance and enormous in her hatred. Although she felt that all was lost, she never surrendered.

Nzinga did not return to her native land, but from the heights of Matamba and though nearly 80 years old, she still retained immense power. She never accepted Portuguese sovereignty. She offered to make peace with them, and demanded in turn the release from captivity of her sister Barbara, who had been imprisoned in Loanda for 10 years.

In exchange, she offered to open the country to missionaries and trade. She accepted the free flow of merchandise, but reserved the right to select the Italian priests—Capuchins—who would be permitted to enter her kingdom. She personally knew the missionaries of this order, and since they were not involved in the negotiation of slaves, like the *Jesuits* in Angola and most of the missionaries in the Congo,

Continued from previous page
she thought they were not in the employ of Portugal. The Portuguese demanded of her, in return for the release of her sister, two hundred slaves, which she had reduced to 160.

She wanted her sister Barbara (Kambu, in the Ambundo language) to succeed her as queen, as she did not have any direct successors. She felt that death was approaching, and that her body, ravaged by old age, was leaning towards the good earth of Matamba. The Capuchins fulfilled their mission near to this woman broken by a long life of warfare, and obtained her consent to be converted to Catholicism for a second time.

The Ngolas and the Jingas saw that the old queen was just a shadow of herself, and on the brink of dying. Her body was confided to the monks and was soon to disappear to prayers being uttered in a language which the people did not understand. Such was her will, but not that of her people. Nevertheless, it was respected. She died at the age of 82, and received honours from both the Portuguese and the Ambundos.

For her own, and today, 300 years later, for all the people of Angola, she is still alive because she has become a symbol. December 17, 1663, marks the day when only her body returned to the earth of Matamba. Her name and her exploits, however, have already become a part of history.

Jinga-A-Mona, Nzinga's brother-in-law, Captain-General of the armies of Matamba, allowed the testament to be executed. But hardly had the earth covered her body when the Italian religious order was forced to flee, upon hearing the Ngolas, the Jingas and the Hondos, three tribes reunited by the queen in order to form the great kingdom whose matrix was to be Matamba, beat out the resumption of warfare on their tom-toms. The beating of the tom-toms from the heights of Matamba were ordered by Jinga-A-Mona, the husband of the new reigning queen, so that it could be heard as the very pounding of the people's heart. And once again arms were raised against the foreigner.

SOCIALISM

(Continued from page 8)

most politically backward of the African masses.

This makes clear that the "traditional" path of capitalist development is not possible in most parts of Africa. At the same time, there is some degree of capitalist development (mainly in South Africa, the Rhodesias, and the Congo), but in most countries of tropical Africa industrial development is based more and more on the public sector rather than the private sector, and agricultural production is based more and more on co-operative methods.

What prospects are there of an advance towards socialism?

Most African national leaders proclaim that socialism is their aim. To advocate the growth of capitalism would seriously weaken (or even completely destroy) their political influence among the masses.

Socialism is the new gospel to win the support of African peoples.

African conditions, together with its class relations, are so different that socialism is interpreted in many different ways. In Africa the opposition to the path of traditional capitalist development in Western Europe is a strong and positive factor, but its negative aspect is the temptation to throw overboard all the positive lessons of the political struggles in other parts of the world.

It is argued that rival classes do not exist in African society. With the achievement of political independence (together with absence of a developed national bourgeoisie) it is claimed that all Africans have common aims. It is argued that there are no rival political parties. This gives rise to the one-party system as a form of government in several independent African states.

This separation from the rest of the world, idealisation of traditional African society, blurring over the class differences, together with separate national ambitions of bourgeois elements, has led to a great variety of "socialist" concepts in Africa.

Thus, there is the "Arab socialism" of President Nasser, whereas in Tunisia (another Arab country) there is "Neo-Destour socialism"—Neo-Destour being the name of the ruling party, meaning "new life". There is the "Negritude" preached by President Senghor of Senegal, often presented as a variety of "African Socialism". The National Council of Nigeria Citizens (NCNC) presents the concept of "Pragmatic Socialism" (the old hand-to-mouth process) and the Action Group of Nigeria sets the aim of "Democratic Socialism"—much in the same way as the right-wing leaders in Britain.

Most widespread is the concept of "African Socialism"—something different from the Social Democratic concepts in the capitalist countries and also from the scientific socialism of Marxism in the socialist world. Even within the concept of "African Socialism" there are different varieties, ranging from the "tribal socialism" of Julius Nyerere, President of Tanganyika, to the mixed economy "democratic socialism", presented by Prime Minister Jomo Kenyatta in the recent election programme of the Kenya African National Union.

Wishful thinking will not eliminate class antagonism in Tanganyika. True, direct colonial rule has been abolished, but imperialism still retains its economic grip. Foreign monopoly firms still have a stranglehold on sisal (Tanganyika's main product) and make gigantic profits, many times bigger than the total wage-bill. Mr. Nsilo Swai, Minister for Development and Planning, recently explained that "Investment in the private sector amounts to 60 per cent". (Reporter, 5:10:63). The official *Industrial Directory* of firms in 1961 (large and small) gives a total of 1,999 firms. Wage disputes and strikes among sisal workers are frequent, and have increased in recent years. There is certainly no resemblance in this situation of depending "on the wealth possessed by the community of which he was a member".

Nyerere contrasts African "tribal socialism which knows nothing of class conflicts" with "European Socialism which was born of the Agrarian Revolution and the Industrial Revolution which followed it".

He asserts that the former produced the "modern capitalist" and the latter "the industrial proletariat", and that these two revolutions "planted the seeds of conflict within society."

If the term "agrarian revolution" refers to the breakdown of feudalism it certainly ignores the basic factors responsible for this change. Even more misleading is the topsy-turvy view that it is revolutions which plant the seeds of conflicts in society, rather than class conflicts creating revolutions.

In an attempt to justify the claim that classes do not exist in African society, Nyerere points out that the word "class" has no equivalent in any indigenous African language. Obviously, the word "class" appears nowhere in tribal society in Africa or elsewhere, for classes only appear when society breaks down. And there can be no doubt that tribal society is rapidly breaking down in Tanganyika.

Marxists have always been conscious of the positive as well as the negative aspects of tribal society. Contrary to Nyerere's idyllic picture, tribal society was essentially a primitive form of existence in which no surplus was produced above bare subsistence needs. There was no other way to live except by sharing things in common, and it was a community of poverty, not of wealth. At the same time, however, there was not an exploiting class, exercise of dictatorship, or political suppression.

Engels was fully conscious of these positive aspects of tribal society, and in his classic essay *Origin of the Family*, quoted with approval the perspective given by Lewis Morgan, in his authoritative survey *Ancient Society*:

"Democracy in government, brotherhood in society, equality in rights and privilege and universal education foreshadow the next higher plane of society to which experience, intelligence and knowledge are steadily tending. It will be a revival, in a higher form, of the liberty, equality and fraternity of the ancient gentes". Socialism is the transformation of

the positive features of tribal society to the "higher plane of society". From a low level of existence of new and higher relations will arise from the mastery of science and the laws of social development. The most positive features of primitive communism are transformed into scientific socialism, a stage to communism, and the pinnacle of human development.

Can the positive features of the old tribal society be preserved in the modern age during the transition from capitalism to socialism?

This depends on the speed with which Africa advances to socialism. As early as 1882, in his introduction to a new edition of the 1848 Communist Manifesto, Engels held out the prospect that the "mir" system in Tsarist Russia (under which more than half the land was owned in common by the peasants) might be preserved under certain conditions:

"If the Russian Revolution becomes the signal for a workers' revolution in the West, so that both complement each other, the present Russian common ownership of the land may then serve as the starting point for a communist development." (London, January 21, 1882.)

More than twenty years later, Lenin gave a clear analysis of the disintegration of the communal land system in Tsarist Russia and the creation of a new "peasant bourgeoisie" within the framework of the old feudal system. This was the situation confronting the 1917 Russian socialist revolution. It was not followed by victorious revolutions in the West, and for this failure, world humanity paid the price of the Second World War and faces now the threat of terrible nuclear war.

One of the first decrees of the new Russia was to give land to the peasants, and at a later stage the elimination of the "kulak" (rich peasant) through the system of collective farming. It established common ownership of land throughout the whole of the Soviet Union. The building of socialism has transformed the old mir system from a community of poverty into a community

of wealth, with advances in the field of science and technology which are the envy of the whole world.

In the light of its own specific conditions Tanganyika may take a different road to achieve these objectives—not back to "tribal socialism", but forward to co-operative and collective farms, mechanised agriculture, and scientific industrial development. This is the way forward to socialism.

LOOKING TO THE PAST

Among the more recent exponents of "African Socialism" is Mr. Tom Mboya, General Secretary of the Kenya African National Union, and a Minister in the Government. Writing on this subject in March, 1963, he explains:

"When I talk of 'African Socialism' I refer to those proven codes of conduct in the African societies which have, over the ages, conferred dignity on our people and afforded them security regardless of their station in life. I refer to universal charity which characterised our societies and I refer to the African thought processes and cosmological ideas, which regard man, not as a social means, but as an end and entity in the society." (*Transition*, Uganda magazine).

In one respect Mboya differs from Nyerere when he admits that "poverty existed, but it was not due to man exploiting man". If this assertion is true that the peoples of Kenya have always had "security regardless of their station in life", one wonders what they have been fighting for all these years! Why have they waged a ceaseless struggle for many decades against European land robbery; organised innumerable strikes in the past forty years, and created trade unions and political movements to wage the fight for independence?

On July 24, 1962 the *Financial Times* estimated that there were 300,000 unemployed in Kenya, and Tom Mboya (who was then Minister of Labour) declared that 31,500 Africans had been thrown out of work in one year alone ending in June 1961; and that "hungry men have to steal in order to live"

(Times, July 19, 1962). Not much security there, and certainly no sign of a classless society!

When it comes down to brass tacks, Mboya himself advocates measures which are in striking contrast to the "communal" principles of traditional African society, proposing loans for local and foreign capitalists, and that the government should stimulate private investment. Mboya contrasts "African Socialism" with what he describes as "Socialism of the Western type" on the one hand, and "a Marxian type of Socialism" on the other. He makes a fervent plea: "Let us go abroad to ask for loans and technical skills, not for ideals and ideologies".

What is Mboya's concept of socialism? In one sense he expresses agreement with Nyerere in stating that: "Socialism is a mental conditioning or an attitude of mind established in order to achieve rational relationships and harmony in society." Any capitalist would agree with this vague general formula, even when he spells it out in more detail:

"Socialism stands for equality of opportunity, security of income and employment, equality before the law, the rule of law, individual freedom, universal franchise, state regulation of economic life, state control of vital means of production and distribution. . . . (Transition, March 1963).

If the word "socialism" is left out, all supporters of the capitalist system will agree with these objectives. Even in imperialist Britain there is a considerable state regulation of economic life and state control of production and distribution.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

Scientific socialism is not a concept limited to geographical boundaries, either 'East' or 'West'. It is a universal concept of a new stage of society, applicable anywhere in the world, providing the objective factors have sufficiently matured to advance towards this new stage. It actually exists in one-third of the

world, and as a political aim in most of the remaining two-thirds.

Its basic tenets are universal in character, but the methods of reaching this stage and the application of its principles will be different in different parts of the world

To speak and write of "African Socialism" makes no better sense than dividing the sciences into geographical compartments, e.g. African mathematics, African chemistry, African biology, or African physics. Science is universal, but its application differs according to different situations:

There is only one socialism—scientific socialism—which belongs to the whole world, and not to one continent or one country.

"African Socialism" is a mirage, but there can be different roads to Socialism arising from the different conditions in the African countries.

1. Common ownership of all the means of production, distribution and exchange, and production for use, and not for private profit.

2. Planned methods of production based on harmonious relations between industry and agriculture, raising of living standards, and overcoming the inequality between town and country.

3. Application of science to all spheres of production, unleashing the inventive genius of human beings, and to make machines the servants of men and women.

4. Political power in the hands of the people, led by the working class and its Marxist party, and based on full democracy in all aspects of economic and social life.

5. Nations sovereignty and friendship with all nations, based on internationalism and not narrow bourgeois nationalism.

6. Equal rights for all men and women.

7. Encouragement and promotion of young people to take key positions of leadership.

8. Positive measures for the flourishing of the arts and scienc-

es, for scientific and technical education, and for equal opportunities for every child to advance in all spheres of education.

There is nothing specifically Russian, German, French, British, or American about these basic tenets of socialism, and nothing in them which is "alien" to any African country. They represent a stage in the advance of human society which would end all forms of imperialist domination, all forms of economic exploitation, and all forms of inequality.

True, in the vastly different conditions of Africa the forms and methods of a socialist society cannot be an exact copy of the existing socialist countries. The existing class relations, communal land ownership, the sense of African unity, pride in African history and culture will have to be taken into account.

The achievement of socialism is not only a matter of political theory and programmes, but also a class relations. Political independence was won by an alliance of class forces led by the progressive elements of the national bourgeoisie and intelligentsia, but workers and peasants were the biggest mass force.

TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM

The new stage demands a sharper struggle to achieve economic independence and end all forms of imperialist domination.

To justify this attitude, all kinds of spurious theories are put forward to bolster up the idea of African exceptionalism.

The new formula "African Socialism" can be used, and as is being used, not to advance the cause of socialism, but to hold it back.

Trade unions are urged to postpone wage demands, there is resistance to working class elements advancing to the leadership of the national movement and to the formation of Marxist Parties, on the plea that there are no less struggle in Africa.

The alliance of class forces (expressed in the national move-

ments which won independence) is still essential in the new stage of the struggle. But the advance to socialism is possible only if the working class advances to the leadership in the national united front. The spread of socialist ideas in Africa does not mean that socialism is the next item on the agenda of independent African states.

The advance of the working class elements into the leadership of the African national movements is essential even for the next stage of advance, which is the building of an independent democratic state. This is not a "third way", but transitional stage to socialism. The

transition may be of long or short duration, depending on the relation of class forces in the country, and especially on the strength and political consciousness of the working class. For, is the working class, with its revolutionary traditions which is the harbinger of socialism:

"Wherever the anti-imperialist front was under the leadership of the working class and its Marxist, the revolution did not stop at the bourgeois-democratic stage, but developed into a socialist revolution.

"Wherever the movement was headed by the bourgeoisie, or bourgeois influences pre-domi-

nated in the anti-imperialist front, the national bourgeoisie that came to power led society along the path of capitalist development, thus delaying the transition to a higher stage of the revolution". (Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, English edition, page 501).

This lesson needs to be understood in Africa today. If the principles of Marxism-Leninism are applied within the context of the struggle through Africa, there are good prospects of advance in the new stage of the struggle, for the growth of independent national democracies, and an advance towards socialism.

GEORGE PADMORE

For a projected biography of George Padmore, I would like to contact any persons who knew him and/or have letters or other papers which might be pertinent to my study. All materials will be handled with extreme care.

—J.R. Hooker, Ph.D., African Studies Centre and Department of History Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan, United States of America.

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THE GROWTH OF NATIONALISM IN ANGOLA

By Mario De Andrade

TODAY the peoples of the neutral world are making history in their turn. They are creating a new balance in international relations and provoking world-wide reactions. It has now become commonplace, therefore, to observe that everything that happens in the neutral world is of interest and concern to men all over the globe.

Angola, which such a short time ago was unknown to the international public, a country which few people could find on the map, has made its entry on the great stage of history once and for all. This is a fact contemporaneous with the outbreak of armed conflict in that part of the world.

My intention is not to deal with the programme which the political parties have set themselves, nor the tactics employed to intensify the armed combat. My task is to place this vast movement for national freedom in its general context, to endeavour to point historical references, and to describe the various demonstrations which made possible and even precipitated the conflict now taking place in Angola.

The fight for national freedoms in Africa shows certain special characteristics, owing to the colonial context in which it is placed. All the facts of this struggle for African independence and dignity could in fact not be properly analysed without taking into account the nature of the colonialist regime in the country concerned.

In the case of the growth of the nationalist movement in a Portuguese colony, attention must be called to the two main factors which gravely hindered its successful progress. In the first place, there is the isolation imposed by the colonial system and the character of the institutions which have prevailed in Portugal for 33 years, which cast Angola amongst the most sombre and silent areas of Africa. Secrecy

constituted the second, continually present factor for political organisations which the colonial administration deprived of any possibility of contact with the people.

It may be said that by and large, events taking place on the Africa continent, involving colonial powers such as France, Belgium and England, obstructed one by one the course of events in the Portuguese colonies. At the same time, the Salazar regime was perfecting a propaganda and humbug machine intended to give currency to the theory of territorial integration and spiritual assimilation.

The Portuguese colonies are thus the only areas of Africa where the present-day political struggle has never assumed a legal character. In other words, never since the thirties has Angola, for example, seen any kind of public contact between the masses and a party machine or its leader. The emergence of the leader in the rebellion is in fact a phenomenon which appears at a late stage in the growth of Angolese nationalism. Under cover of the electoral campaigns for the presidency of the Portuguese Republic there were of course speeches, sometimes violent, by some Angolese tribe taking advantage of the situation to register a protest against the wretched living conditions of the masses. This was the case in the 1948 electoral campaign, but it was an isolated episode and not a constant feature of open political activity, organized into a party and defying the colonial administration.

This is why the Portuguese authorities were for a long time the only voice to speak to the world of their colonial policy. This spectacular outbreak of Angolese nationalism, taking the form of armed rebellion, has shown up the meaninglessness of the propaganda put out by the Portuguese Government. We recall the arguments put forward by the theorists of Portuguese colonization or Gilberto Freyre, the Brazilian

sociologist, to the effect that national feeling could never blossom in the "overseas provinces". Racial brotherhood, the understanding of the colonizer, the five centuries of co-existence by White and Negro communities in Angola must of necessity, according to them cancel out or avoid the consequences of African nationalism in this country.

The reality which must be faced sheds doubt on these kinds of arguments. Nevertheless, official circles in Lisbon claim that nationalist activity is the work of foreigners or Angolese groups who have emigrated to the former Belgian or French Congos.

The course taken by the Angolese freedom movement is sufficiently convincing and gives the lie to these accusations. Let us retrace its stages.

Among the problems facing the Portuguese liberal monarchy in about 1856 was the effective occupation of the colonies. This occupation was to be speeded up, in the light of the decisions of the Berlin Conference. Military campaigns then took place, during which Portuguese troops suffered bitter and numerous defeats before the fierce resistance of the African population in Angola.

The exact nature of this resistance may be illustrated by an example—the war waged by the peoples of Dembos, whose refusal to submit was looked upon by Portuguese historians as a *shame for the nation*. Fifteen successive expeditions were necessary to achieve the "pacification" of a region which numbered 55,792 inhabitants in 1916. From exactly 1872 onwards, the people of Dembos once more took up the fight against the Portuguese army, rising against the colonial administration which practised numerous abuses in the levying of taxes and exploited the small trade. Between 1872 and 1907, the Portuguese could achieve no positive result of their attempts to set up military posts.

A big expedition, the famous column of 1907, under the command of Captain Joao de Almeida and twenty times larger than previous contingents, was utterly annihilated by the nationalist forces. The same fate befell the expeditions of 1909, 1913 and 1918. Finally,

in October 1919, the Portuguese, using Angolese from other regions and soldiers from Mozambique, emerged for the time being victorious over national resistance in the region of Dembos.

Angolese nationalism thus takes its origin from the wars waged by the peoples of the interior against the domination of Portuguese troops, along with the struggles fought by the country's publicists and intellectuals, during the years before Salazar came to power. At the time when the military occupation was being completed, the Portuguese forces were used to literally wipe out the traditional chiefs and destroy the tribal structure, so that direct domination could be better imposed.

The administrative occupation begun in 1922 was accompanied by the expropriation of land and property and the imposition of a "sovereignty" tax, along with the system of forced labour. During this period the last stirrings of popular resistance were registered by the armed revolts which broke out in several parts of the country between 1924 and 1939. Angolese considered to be assimilated and resident in urban areas organised another type of struggle at the same time. These nuclei of assimilated citizens, mostly officials, business employees, small land-owners, artisans and workers, used the press and regional associations to carry out political action denouncing the robbery and plundering of the colonists. The struggle was bitter at the time. Several African publicists were eventually condemned to lose their political and civil rights, even to be deported.

Salazar's arrival in power was to deal a deathblow to all political agitation in Angola. It must be noted, however, that certain African associations were founded in 1929, in particular *La Liga Nacional Africana* (L.N.A.) and the *Gremio Africano* later named the *Associação Reginal Dos Naturais De Angola* (Anangola) whose aim was principally the achieving of better economic and social conditions by means of legal pressure.

With the gradual growth in the number of settlers and the increasingly tight control by the Portuguese

over all areas of life in Angola, most of the members of these association realized the impossibility of conducting a successful open fight against the colonial administration by way of reforms. These associations were the scene of divisions and contradictions amongst those of our parents' generation, placed in a historical situation which demanded a radical change in the methods hitherto employed in the fight against colonial domination. So it was that a minority group of Angolese in favour of the assertion of legal claims sought support from the colonial administration, which in turn made use of these candidates to commit treason and to deepen division amongst the Angolese.

Others, however, advocated a consistent political activity joining up with the so-called native populace. They suggested two ways of carrying this out; either the organisations should admit as members Angolese who enjoyed no political or civil rights, or else they should extend their field of social, cultural and political action to the mass of the people.

DEVELOPMENTS

A state of crisis prevailed in the leadership, particularly within the L.N.A. The minority which opposed all association with the masses abandoned the fight. The Portuguese authorities, taking advantage of the crisis, managed to place agents of the political police force in these associations by the use of corruption and moral and material pressure, and finally replaced the elected leaders by administrative commissions appointed by the Governor-General of the Colony. The older generations gradually lost hope in the successful outcome of the struggle against the Portuguese colonial administration.

A new phase in the history of the Angolese nationalist movement was to open just after the end of the Second World War. In about 1948, young Angolese living in Luanda thought over the old political experiences in the light of the new situation in their own day and made a noisy entrance on the public stage. These young people began by making use of legal associations to work

out activities destined for the African population at large, trying in this way to bridge the gap between the so-called "civilized" Angolese and the "natives".

A campaign against illiteracy was organised and young talents gave a nationalist meaning to works of art. Angolese youth, to the tune of the new ideas abroad in the world, conveyed in its works, above all in literature, a new message crystallizing national feeling. Cultural magazines and papers shaped political awareness. The colonial administration lost no time in putting a stop to this agitation by the young Angolese in the forefront of the legal battle. Only one course remained open to those struggling for the national awakening of the populace — the organisation of secret political activities.

From that time onwards, Angolese political movements were to come into being and develop in an atmosphere of police terror. Serious studies, on the international situation as well as the nature of fascism, were written in Angola and spread throughout the country by a group of young towns-people who put forward the idea of the urgent necessity for the creation of secret nationalist organisations.

The *Partido Da Luta Unida Dos Africanos De Angola* (P.L.U.A.) was soon set up in 1953. And in December 1956 the leaders of the P.L.U.A. and other organisations appealing in a manifesto for the formation of a vast front, founded the *Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola* (MPLA). After a brief analysis of the methods used to impose imperialism on the African peoples, the manifesto reviews the main features of Portuguese colonial domination in Angola on the political, economic, social and cultural planes.

"We are humiliated as individuals and as a people," the manifesto states in particular, denouncing the new trend of Portuguese colonial policy based on attempts at the genocide of the Angolese people, the subjection of the masses to forced labour, detribalization, the lack of health provisions and the terrible rate of infant mortality. In these last years, adds the manifesto,

Portuguese colonialist oppression has been increasing in gravity due to the arrival in Angola (through the agency of Portuguese colonialists) of *dominating capital, monopolies and international trusts*.

Faced with such a situation, it invites the Angolese people to organize and strive on all fronts and in all conditions "for the liquidation of Portuguese colonialism, so that Angola may become an independent state and a democratic government may be set up, a coalition government comprising all the forces which have fought Portuguese colonialism.

However, Portuguese colonialism will not fall without a fierce fight. Thus there is only one way to the freedom of the Angolese people: *revolutionary struggle*.

But this struggle will achieve its objectives only by forming a single front of all the anti-imperialist forces in Angola, taking into account political opinions or philosophical tendencies only in the formation of the largest popular freedom movement in Angola. The movement will constitute the sum total of the activities of all Angolese organizations."

These are the ideas which spread to the inhabitants of the entire country. Peasants, workmen, officials, intellectuals and religious personalities gave their support to the propaganda of the M.P.L.A. Still more organisations were created, among them the Movement for the National Independence Party of Angola (M.I.N.A.) in 1958, which later merged with the M.P.L.A.

Among the nationalist tendencies which appeared in circles of emigrants in the Congo, we must first of all mention Simão Toco's messianic movement. Born in Angola in 1917, the religious leader had emigrated to the Leopoldville area of the Congo and there he founded and developed the organization known by his name. This movement, whose main aim was expressed in the practice of peaceful civil disobedience of the laws of the colonial administration, had a large following in Angola. Expelled from the Congo, Simão Toco returned to his native land and the Portuguese authorities took repressive

measures against him and his followers even to their deportation to the concentration camp of Bahia dos Tigres. Now he is employed as assistant to the light-house keeper at Porto Alexandre.

Various groups, based sometimes on ethnic and cultural, sometimes on regional affinities, gave rise, in the Leopoldville and Brazzaville areas of the Congo, to associations which were first of all founded on friendship and mutual aid and which later became veritable Angolese nationalist movements, helped by the course of political events in these regions. We would cite among others the *Union das Populações do Norte de Angola* which in 1958 became the Union of the Peoples of Angola (U.P.A.), the alliance of the Nationals of the Cabinda Enclave (A.R.E.C.), now the Movement for the Liberation of the Cabinda Enclave (M.L.E.C. and the Alliance of the Zombo Nationals Aliazio).

FEATURES OF ACTIVITY

To connect all this with the course of events within the country, it is important to indicate the main features of the national movements' activity in Angola after 1956. Determined to act in the face of an unstable political situation where definite signs of nationalist unrest could be observed, the national police responsible for the defence of the state (P.I.D.E.) was set up in the Colony, at the beginning of 1957. The hunt for Angolese nationalists then took on a new character and was methodically organised. The first Secretary-General of the MPLA, Vriato Cruz, had to take flight at this time and sought asylum in Europe.

The year 1958 was especially conspicuous for great political activity. By way of pamphlets, plans of action and proclamations of the anti-colonialist struggle and through secret centres of instruction, the unrest amongst the Angolese masses continued to grow and worry the Portuguese. The population of Luanda will long recall Easter Sunday of 1959 as a tragic date in the annals of Angolese nationalism, for it was on March 29th of that year that the P.I.D.E. un-

leashed on the African masses a spectacular terror operation: imprisonment for those suspected of participating in political movements, followed by acts of violence against the peaceful population.

Under the heading of the defence of "overseas provinces" the Under-Secretary of State for Air Preserved over the installation of the Angolese Air Force in the town of Luanda on 26th April, 1959. The ceremony consisted of a demonstration of the destructive power of military weapons. Reports in the Luanda press were delirious. The *Comercio de Angola*, for example, which devoted almost an entire edition to the demonstration, began by calling all these war flights 'Angola's first Air Force Festival'. It headed its article: Moved and enthusiastic, a mighty mass of the people numbering more than 100,000 watched the Air Force Display. The parachutists were then given a great ovation, as they filed past at the airport. . . The attacks using napalm bombs, like the sharp machine-gun fire at the targets, just seemed to be a crushing show of force. . . Yet it is obvious that these operations would take place in just this way on a battle-field, the authorities having made it quite clear that this was the way they would fight if they had to put down an anti-colonialist rebellion, or rather, the day they decided to crush, by anticipating them, the people's attempts at rebellion against colonialism.

First phase: parachute jumps (it should be noted that the first parachutist to touch the ground was the Catholic chaplain who had come with the Air Force from Lisbon.

Second phase: napalm bombs (100-pounders) and machine-gun fire.

Little and athletic, with German tread—the colonialist press enthusiastically reported—the soldiers amazed the European population and several observers apparently had only one desire: that all of it should not simply be an exercise.

Other demonstrations of this kind were organized in the southern regions of Angola—Nova-Lisboa, Sa de Bandeira, Lobito and Benguela. The Colonial Deputy for Mosambique at the Portuguese National

Assembly called in his turn for the installation of military forces in this colony on the eastern coast. The Governor-General, for his part, greeting the war flights as the 'first Air Force Festival' in a Portuguese colony, declared: "In our day, peace is possible only when states have at their disposal sufficient forces to withstand the threats of agitators and trouble-makers, usually inspired by Communism of the heavily-disguised type. Our country is not being defended if it has no protective military covering; in every corner of Portuguese territory, wherever it may be, land, sea and air troops must be there at hand and vigilant, to prevent men giving in to greed or false ideas".

He went even further than this: "These troops must be morally strong so as to resist the various kinds of propaganda aimed at undermining them, for we know that the 'army' is the main obstacle to the spread of propaganda". We live in the age of tracts... which consider the army as a troublesome enemy. The pamphlet has also appeared in Angola, as was expected.

A new warning was given. In the town of Luanda alone, more than 150 people were imprisoned during the month of July 1959. The police arrested the intellectual and nationalist leader of the M.P.L.A., Ilidio Machado, while he was holidaying in Lisbon.

"TRAIL OF THE 50"

After these numerous arrests, the P.I.D.E. prepared for the trial of 57 people (50 Angolese and 7 Europeans). The "Trial of the 50" was presented by the Portuguese political police as a vast plot organised inside Angola. The trial was split into three parts. The first involved 15 Angolese (one of them living at Pointe-Noire), a Ghanaian, an American Negro and a Cuban Negro; the second concerned seven Portuguese and the third, 32 Angolese nationalists, of whom 20 were detained at Luanda and 12 lived in the Congo, Brazil, Europe and elsewhere. The accused came from widely-differing social groups: there were officials, business employ-

ees, nurses, workmen, intellectuals and students.

The "Trial of the 50" showed the proportions to which the struggle for independence in Angola had grown and demonstrated the organising abilities of the nationalist movements. By reading the record of the trial, I came to realise that the Angolese national movement was at a cross-roads which would lead to a completely new turning on the one hand by the systematizing of secret activity, and on the other by the setting-up of a united freedom front. Had it not been for the network of the P.I.D.E. which was then in operation, the course of political events in Angola would today present a more consistent character. All the nationalist forces were attempting to join up and work together.

These trials opened towards the end of 1959, but the date for the verdict, originally fixed for March 7, 1960, was postponed several times.

In August, 1960, with the aim of throwing the real leaders of the Angolan national struggle into confusion, the P.I.D.E. issued the courts with an order to try the seven Portuguese, under the accusation of having distributed secret tracts calling for the Colony's independence. They were condemned to terms of imprisonment ranging from three months to three years and to the loss of political rights for fifteen years. Lisbon's Supreme Court of Justice, after a reconsideration of their trial, raised the imprisonment to a minimum of five years.

On the 5th December of the same year, the Luanda Military Tribunal began a mockery of a trial of twenty Angolese nationalists who aligned themselves with the M.P.L.A. and other political formation. During the course of this trial, all kinds of irregularities were committed: the lawyers were not authorised to consult the proceedings, nor to visit their clients, nor even to hear the witnesses for the defence. The accused, conscious of their responsibilities as nationalist fighters, claimed that a foreign court had no right to try them.

Ostensibly because of this attitude, the large majority of the Portuguese lawyers abandoned the defence of these nationalists for reasons of... patriotism. Only Counsellors Almeida Valadas and Maria da Carmo courageously continued to ensure the defence. The P.I.D.E. immediately made a charge against the two lawyers: On the 21st December, the court condemned the twenty Angolese patriots to terms of imprisonment ranging from three to ten years and the confiscation of political rights for fifteen years.

At all events, the "Trial of the 50" constitutes the first official recognition of the existence of Angolese nationalist movements with precise claims and a network of inland communications; in short, a substantial country-wide organisation.

Here is the testimony of a young Congolese girl:

"Our public and private life in Luanda had become more and more unbearable; we were watched at church, we were in danger at home and held up to ridicule at school. At every point our survival depended on the will of the Portuguese. Abuses against the defenceless natives were our 'daily bread'. I always had to carry my identity card with me to avoid being arrested in the street and sent somewhere servants were needed. I have often seen white officers whipping my country-women if they were not working hard enough under the burning March sun. We native women were often attacked in the street by white men, less often, however than we are by the Portuguese soldiers today. Every time the natives were ill-treated. I saw that there was always an outstanding black woman who dared to defy her tormentor. Such courage on the part of my illiterate sisters not only gave me strength but made me blush with shame for my cowardly silence and inertia in the face of so many acts of cruelty and injustice."

At the beginning of 1956, I underwent a decisive experience: I travelled more than 1,500 miles with about fifty 'contratados' (slaves). All my life I have seen and

heard slaves around me, but this time these direct victims bore witness to what I was looking for. During the journey, my brothers sang a sad song in Kimbundu *telling how hard forced labour was, wondering when they would go home and why they had not died before. Their refrain was that things would change, must change one day.* I saw some of them weeping as they sang.

Then we stopped in the village of one of these men who was to say goodbye to his wretched wife, his innocent son, his poor mother and his friends. The most heart-breaking moment was when his five-year-old son asked him when he was coming back. The father smiled bravely, took his son in his arms and said simply, "I don't know." This touching scene plunged us into deep silence, broken by the cry of the white driver ordering us "Vamos embora, rapaz" ("Come on"). The last tears and the last words were exchanged and the lorry drove off, leaving the village and its people behind, hidden in a cloud of dust and insecurity.

INFLUENCES

The greatest influence on my life were parents, our happy family, my two teachers at Middle School, my seven years in the outback where I observed and experience difficult situations, and later, my contacts with some African students, especially an agriculturist and a Catholic priest. I still had two more years to go to finish my seven years of Secondary School when I had to leave and work for a year. On my way to work, I had to cross the slum area of Sambizanga where life for the natives is more unhealthy and extenuating than I had thought. These horrible conditions in which my poor people of Sambizanga lived led me to think about the possibilities of helping them to recover their human dignity, to change our country's situation and bring together the hundreds of my compatriots belonging to the secret nationalist movement, which was fighting for the freedom of our country.

The P.I.D.E. Portugal's secret police, was increasingly omnipresent and omniscient, and nationalists had to be very careful in their contacts with one another. However, I tried to get in touch with some active members of the secret movement, but being an adolescent I did not succeed at my first attempt. So I decided to organise something amongst my friends. I began by inviting several young people to tea with me, in turn, without telling my family. Then I asked some of my friends what they thought of our national situation. We all agreed that the Portuguese had already assumed too much power for themselves and that they must be checked, at least to the extent of giving us the right to breathe freely in our own country.

Some of these young people already belonged to the nationalist movement and others were encouraged to follow their example. Some of my guests perhaps talked about my tea-parties to their friends, because a member of the nationalist movement entrusted me with a difficult task. It seemed to me that my first contribution pleased my fellow-countrymen, who asked more and more for my collaboration. I was frankly grateful to be working instead of studying and in this way I was able to give more and more help. One day I was introduced to most of the leaders and some of them did not like the idea of an adolescent being mixed up in such serious affairs.

At first I was somewhat discouraged by this lack of trust, but I gradually managed to win their confidence and was subsequently accepted as a member. I could once again take up my studies, which proves that my nationalist activity was no obstacle to them.

In the meantime, the members of the nationalist group were conscious that the P.I.D.E. was following most of them everywhere they went. I was disturbed by the presence of a white agent of the P.I.D.E. who usually, stood at the corner of our house and who insulted me one day.

Nor shall I forget the evening when I was going home with some right beside me. I could scarcely breathe, but the car drove off again almost immediately. When I arrived home, there were police cars in front of the house. I rushed in, trying to hide the documents as best as I could and thinking that my time had come, but nothing happened. That same evening, very regretfully, I burnt the photos of our nationalist group. However, I still had some undeveloped films which, although compromising, I would not destroy. Missing supper and without a word to my parents, I went to look for a hiding-place for my treasures. In that way, if the P.I.D.E. came back again, they would not find anything dangerous.

The next day, when I was listening to the news on Radio Brazzaville, a friend from the nationalist group arrived, asking me what that white man wanted who was at my window and who ran away as soon as she came in. My one relief was that all the documents had been burnt or hidden.

In spite of everything, we went on working and talking with our brothers and sisters about our movement whose aim was to proclaim our rights and fight abuses and injustice. Being for most of the time the only person who could reassure myself, I was nevertheless very much afraid of what might happen to my friends and I never told them about my experiences with the P.I.D.E. and still less did I tell my family, to avoid creating any more anxiety.

Then I gained a scholarship to go and study abroad. It was a very bad moment to leave my defenceless people at the mercy of the Portuguese, and particularly my companions in the nationalist movement. A farewell party was given in my honour and a P.I.D.E. agent in disguise turned up, pretending to be looking for a friend in our gathering, but we were all wise to his trick.

Two days later, in January 1959, I left Ludna with a heavy heart. A month later, most of my compa-

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PROMOTION OF TRADE IN EMERGING COUNTRIES

by A Special Correspondent

ALTHOUGH somewhat tardily, the changes in the socio-economic development of the backward countries and in the international conditions under which their economies are developing and co-operating, have led to changes in theoretical and economic and political conceptions of the means of solving the basic problems which these countries are encountering. The interdependence of the present-day world is now one of the most widespread elements for general progress, as well as that of each national economy.

The knowledge of this has helped the emerging countries to progress considerably in combining the short term and long term aspects of their development, especially that of their functional combination with foreign trade. This has led to a new awareness of the need to solve acute economic problems by relating internal and external conditions for development, through the interdependence of the economic structure of the emerging countries and the existing structure of the international division of labour, by taking a clear view of the common interests of these countries and the long term interests of the developed states; and by taking into account the fact that international trade and international economic assistance are closely affiliated.

Therefore the conception of "independent development", or "development on an independent footing" has not only lost its antarctic overtones, but implies, as a basic assumption, closer links with other countries and colonies. Objectively, the emerging countries are aspiring towards linking their policy of eco-

nomie development with that of expanded and intensified international economic co-operation.

In view of the importance of capital equipment in accelerating economic development, and of the fact that most of the emerging countries cover 30 to 40% of their capital equipment needs from imports, it is clear that the rate of increase in the investments of these countries is largely guided by the possibility of importing capital equipment, i.e., the rate of increase in total import capacities. The importance of exports as the main factor in financing imports capacities largely originates from the strategic role of imported capital equipment in transforming national accumulation into real investments.

However, at a time when foreign trade and the conditions under which the later is carried out are acquiring such exceptional importance to the developing countries, there are further strong trends in the direction of unfavourable exchange conditions, instability of the raw material and other markets for basic products, fluctuations in export income, deterioration of the balance of payments, restriction of some of the traditional markets of these countries, artificial limitation of demands for their products, increased discrimination in trade relations and their dependence on uneconomic factors.

It is well known that this has resulted in a trend towards the drastic reduction of the post-war trade of the under-developed states, to the advantage of the developed countries.

What are the prospects of the emerging countries in finding a solution to these problems?

These problems in the first place demonstrate the need for a far reaching revision of basic principles, instruments and mechanisms in international economic relations, in view of the new needs and objective interests of the world economy. The traditional "rules of trade", dating back to the era of classical liberalism, together with the system of departure from these rules, built up during the period when state intervention was gaining in strength and specific regional new principles whose application would lead to accelerated economic and social progress in conditions of factual equality among national economies, irrespective of differences in the level of development in the socio-economic systems of the countries concerned. The fulfilment of these demands is a vital prerequisite for the lasting progress of the international world economy under conditions of peace.

NEW PRINCIPLES

Aware of the fact that the existing mechanisms and institutions in international trade have become obsolete, the emerging countries are proposing or adopting the reform of traditional institutions, or establishing new ones. Any kind of liberalism and any kind of protectionism can be justified if it contributes to more extensive international commodity exchange under condition of equality, the strengthening of the interdependence and integration of national economies, the reduction or abolition of differences in the level of development, and the establishment of a new international division of labour.

When referring to changes in principles and institutions in inter-

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national economic relations, the emerging countries always have in mind concrete measures and international activities aimed at improving their precarious economic position so that their own efforts towards speeding up their economic development may bear fruit. They anticipate that the current UN Trade and Development Conference will consider all the ideas and proposals already formulated for this purpose. At the same time they have in view measures for expanding and stabilizing markets for their products, as well as measures more directly linked with changes in their economic structure and therefore with the structure of the international division of labour too.

NEW PROPOSALS

With this aim in view important proposals have been put forward for the removal of customs and other obstacles and protectionist barriers in international trade, as well as the discriminatory practices of various regional groupings; furthermore, there have been proposals to expand multilateralism in payments, to conclude international trade agreements, and to adopt a policy of long-term trade agreements. Apart from these proposals of great importance for the emerging countries are the measures which the international community should undertake to solve their structural difficulties and secure conditions for the future more intensive diversification of their trade through industrialization and the promotion of agricultural production. Among these measures the following deserve special mention.

1. Measures for structural adjustments in the economies of the advanced countries, especially in the structure of their industries, in order to increase the consumption of goods exported by the emerging countries.

2. The adoption of principles and finding of means for establishing a suitable system of compensatory financial aid. The aim of the latter would be not only to correct or compensate for losses incurred by the exported countries of basic products, due to short-term fluctuations in export prices, but—and this is the most important—to make

possible, at least to a certain extent, a redistribution of world income which would, by granting means to the governments of the emerging countries for implementing their economic development programmes, constitute a specific form of redistribution of income within the national framework.

3. The adoption of preferential treatment for exports of industrial products from the emerging countries, i.e., the abandoning of the strict application of the principle of reciprocity in trade relations between the advanced and the under-developed states. The economic substance of these measures would be to make real changes in the international division of labour on the basis of a more intensive process of industrialization in the under-developed countries. This explains the resistance on the part of many developed states to this idea, and especially to its implementation.

Naturally all these and other measures proposed by the emerging countries must be generally accepted if they are to be effective. However, even if they were generally adopted, they would have to be co-ordinated for the realization of long-term and structural solutions to basic problems in world trade, which would open up the way towards new actions and measures indispensable for the solution of other problems at a higher level of development.

The ultimate aim of these measures is to change the sources of the old automatism which still exists in international economic relations, maintaining relations of privilege, monopolism and inequality among economies and nations. The new principles should result in the establishment of a new automatism which will facilitate and encourage the process of accelerated development all over the world, and which will result in economically and socially more justified effects in increased labour productivity and progress in science and technology. The new mechanism would mean changes in distribution of income within both the national and international framework, and establish new forms and principles in international relations.

nions were arrested. Even today they are in a Portuguese prison, struggling between life and death. One is still a mystery to me; how and why was it that the P.I.D.E. let me leave Angola after watching me so closely?

With the myth of the total support of the Portuguese nation by the 'Angolese natives' shaken to its foundations, the political movements that wished to convey at an international level the reality of Angolese nationalism found their task considerably easier. Elsewhere, nationalists from various Portuguese colonies in Africa started at the end of 1957 to study the best way of supporting the struggle within their respective countries. They intended to work first of all for the concerted action of freedom movements in the Portuguese colonies.

A first front called the Anti-Colonialist Movement (M.A.C.) was set up in Europe through the action of the militants of the M.P.A., the African Party of the Independence of Guinea (P.A.I.) and nationalists of Mozambique, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe. At the time of the Second Conference of the African Peoples, in January 1960, the M.P.L.A. and the P.A.I. of Guinea set up the African Revolutionary Front for the Independence of the Portuguese Colonies (F.R.A.I.M.) and the M.A.C. was dissolved. The F.R.A.I.M. in turn disappeared, when the Conference of Nationalist Organisations in the Portuguese Colonies was held. It was during this 'African Year' that the Angolese nationalist movements secured the support necessary for the setting-up of permanent external bureaux accredited to the governments of independent African countries.

We know the Portuguese reaction, on the eve of the proclamation of the Congo's (Leopoldville) independence; in the guise of a preventive military action, the colonial power increased patrols and aerial forces

to protect Angola's frontiers. Going farther than torture and exactions against the population, the police arrested political leaders and Angolese personalities such as Dr. Agostinho Neto and Father Joaquim Pinto de Andrade.

In a declaration dated 13th June, 1960, the M.P.L.A. stated that it would take as a first sign of a rejection of the use of force by the Portuguese Government the speedy and effective act of "immediate recognition of the Angolese people's right to self-determination, the granting of political liberties and the summoning of a round table conference, to last till the end of 1960, consisting of representatives of all the Angolese political parties and of the Portuguese Government, who would discuss the peaceful solution of the colonial problem in Angola".

The position of the M.P.L.A. and other nationalist organisations in Angola were clear, at a time when everything pointed to a readiness on the part of the Salazar Government to quell in a blood-bath any nationalist rising, by hastening it on if necessary. Instead of a discussion of the conflict opposing us to the colonial administration, we have only seen the Portuguese Government strengthening the machine of repression in our country and massacring the populace. In November 1960, 29 political prisoners, most of them natives of Cabinda, were summarily executed in a prison courtyard.

Urgent appeals came to us from the interior of Angola: the mass of the people were making insistent demands for organized plans of self-defence. In the face of the large-scale suppression of pressure by the Angolese masses, the M.P.L.A. in agreement with other organizations in the Portuguese colonies, notably the African Party for Independence (of so-called Portuguese Guinea) and the Goa Political Convention, held a press conference at the House of Commons in London on 6th December, 1960, and defined its attitude in the face of Portuguese obstinacy. We reaffirmed that the Portuguese Government, instead of considering the proposals for a peaceful solution of the colonial

issue, intensified its preparations for starting a war. Salazar's Government left only one alternative to nationalist movements in the Portuguese colonies—recourse to direct action, we declared.

The Portuguese did not hesitate to show by their declarations and by concrete measures that they intended to pursue their classic method of exploitation and to fight in order to remain sole masters in our countries.

The people of Luanda had long intended to free the leaders of the M.P.L.A. and other nationalists imprisoned there. The climate of terror reigning in the country and the national consciousness of the mass of the people explain the gesture of our fighters and their boldness in attacking military and civil prisons in Luanda at the beginning of last February. Our forecast that the Portuguese Government, persisting in the maintenance of its domination and its age-long system of oppression, would, by the force of events, drive the mass of the Angolese people to direct action, was confirmed.

REVOLUTIONARY CONSCIOUSNESS

The circumstances preceding the attack on the prisons reveal the level of revolutionary consciousness possessed by the Angolese patriots. It was because of their political maturity that they took advantage of the presence of numerous journalist in Angola, who had come to wait for the projected arrival of the ship "Santa Maria", to better inform world opinion.

The pistols used in the attack on the night of 4th February did not come from the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia, but rather from the hands of Portuguese policemen during a previous attack by M.P.L.A. fighters on the police jeeps which generally patrol the Negro quarters on the out-skirts of Luanda. But these attacks, in spite of the suicidal character which they may have assumed at first sight, reflected the Angolese situation at national and international level. The significance of the attacks on military and civil prisons in the capital of Angola no longer needs demonstration, for it was from this one courageous action that the vast

movement of popular insurrection spread through the entire country and insecurity took hold of the body and soul of the Portuguese colonist.

Neither did the forces of repression fail to draw a lesson from these events, according to the means at their disposal. On 5th February, after an act of provocation during the burial of some Portuguese soldiers killed by our fighters, they proceeded that same day to massacre 3,000 Angolese patriots.

Events which the international public knows little about happened likewise during the month of February. From Luanda, several nationalists, who had participated in the attacks mentioned above, and who had escaped Portuguese repression, reached the districts to the east of the capital. In Baixa de Cassange, in the Malange district, they organized the plantation workers into a revolt against the abusive practices of the agricultural company known as Cottonang. The attacks were directed at the premises of European traders, the official residence of the regional government and a Catholic mission.

Few White were killed, however. Here also the Portuguese forces reacted brutally: villages were bombed and according to some sources, there were 10,000 casualties amongst the Angolese population. Mr. Monteiro, a native of the Cape Verde Islands and Governor of the Melange District, held an enquiry on the spot and sent a report to the Central Government on the methods of coercion used by the Cottonang Company and tracts written in Kimbundu which stated the Angolese people's refusal to cultivate cotton against their will. The colonial company of course proved to be in the right and Mr. Monteiro was relieved of his post.

Conclusion :

Such is the path taken by the nationalist movement in Angola, the claims it lodged and the reactions of the colonial administration. I have tried to trace the main stages in the growth of a national consciousness in Angola, whilst rising above the partisan struggles of the present time. This is why I stopped at the events of 15th March, which

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SOUTH AFRICA

constitute a new chapter in the history of Angolese nationalism.

The freedom struggle first of all took on the appearance of resistance to Portuguese military occupation and annexation of territory. Up to the time when Salazar came to power, the nationalists could still use forms of legal combat, but their claims found less response on the international level; the last thirty years, when Angolese nationalism has stood up to the most merciless regime of colonial exploitation Africa has ever known, represent the great age of secret struggle. During this period, the Angolese people have accumulated sources of energy and have acquired a store of courage and alliances outside the country. All this has allowed the successful launching of armed combat.

Certain conclusions must be drawn, at this stage of the enquiry, concerning the characteristics of Angolese nationalism:

1. It is a case of suppressed nationalism, which has developed in a climate of particular secrecy. The impossibility for the nationalists to set up the organization at the level of the rural masses, in the first place, meant that it was above all the urban masses and in particular its elites who were reached by party propaganda. In any case, the colonial administration preserved social divisions and created a gap between the Angolese who were looked upon as "natives" and those considered to be "civilised". Most of the secret organisations adopted the group as the foundation of their structure, the real cell for the defence of the African community's interests.

2. Simão Toko's messianic movement had advocated civil disobedience, but the Angolese national movement may be said to have assumed a revolutionary character from the beginning by reason of its claims. That is to say, in their tracts the parties demanded the overthrow of the colonial system itself rather than improvement of the colonised people's lot. This attitude is easily understandable when one considers the obstinacy and lack of realism of Portuguese colonial policy.

UNTIL recently Transkei was the biggest reservation of South Africa. It was also the first victim of the "benevolent" policy of apartheid which is "developing progressively towards the creation of Bantustan territories". The reservation of the mandate territory of South West Africa is scheduled to become the next component part of Bantustan. Yet strangely enough the natives of South West Africa are bitterly opposed to this project, regardless of the threat of bloodshed.

Why is this so? It is superfluous to dwell on all the revolution stratagems of "apartheid", and it is sufficient to examine the actual degree of independence of Transkei. The former reservation and today's Bantustan covers an area of 42,500 square kilometers. The population consists of 1,384,673 Africans, 13,600 half-castes, and 18,000 whites, mostly traders and white-collar workers. In accordance with the watchword of apartheid "Divide and rule", the Africans are divided into tribes and races. In Transkei these are the former nomadic peoples of the Amakhosi, who are now fighting for their bare existence, and are obliged to sell their labour force cheaply. These peoples were also promised independence.

In accordance with the Constitution of Transkei proclaimed in 1963 by the all-white Parliament of the Union of South Africa, the strangest elections which ever took place in South Africa were held. The Amakhosi were allowed to elect 45 of the 109 members of their Transkei parliament. The remaining 64 were nominated by the Government of South Africa. Executive power is vested in Premier Matanzime, who is at the same time Minister of the Justice (as it is obvious that no one ever heard of the democratic division of power). There are five ministries in all: justice, education, interior, agriculture and forestry, transport and public works. And what of the others. One may ask.

The fact that there are 3,423,000 Africans speaking the Khoza language is another paradox. About two million live and work in all parts of South Africa, in mines, factories or on white settlers' farms.

In spite of this, these Africans, whose feet never trod the soil of Transkei, are now citizens of Transkei under the new law. Besides, the legislative assembly may impose taxes upon the citizens of Transkei regardless of whether they actually live there or not. All who come in conflict with the law can be tried before the Transkei courts or before any white court in the republic.

Legislation in Transkei is under the jurisdiction of the central government, particularly where defence, international security and foreign affairs are concerned.

The law on racial segregation is also valid in Umtata the capital of Transkei. Premier Matanzime, for example, is not allowed to enter a cafe reserved for whites, in Umtata, the capital of the Province. At a time when other countries are renouncing their colonies, new ones are being created by South Africa.

In other words, the reaction of the Portuguese administration and the persistence of the old colonialist vices—forced labour, illiteracy, economic and social distress and racial discrimination—drove the Angolese nationalists to make their position more radical. The mass of the people did not feel concerned in the few measures for social improvement which the colonial power introduced in the country from time to time as for example, the nomination, in 1953, of two representatives of "native interests" in the Colony's Legislative Council. In fact the so-called native representatives found it impossible to provide solutions for the problems of the African population.

3. The organisations which came to birth in the country have existed quite independently of the "Metropolitan" parties. They were far from being branches of the latter.

4. Various currents have appeared in Angolese nationalism: an internal current; a current which might be termed a neighbouring extension (to the Brazzaville and an external current (which flows particularly in Portugal and Leopoldville regions of the Congo) other European countries). Generally speaking, until very recently there has been co-ordination of all these currents, interrupted by the arrests of 1959. On the new interweaving of these various currents will now depend the speeding-up of the process of independence in Angola.

These are some of the characteristics of Angolese nationalism. Finally, we must mention the part played by Angolese nationalism in awakening and shaping the national consciousness of other Portuguese colonies. The Casablanca Conference of 18th April, 1961, marked the culmination of the efforts of Angolese nationalists to gather together all the forces opposing Portuguese colonialism in Africa. Direct action, as an effective means of overthrowing the colonial system, has become, under the inspiration of Angolese nationalists, the moving force of all the nationalist organisations in Portuguese colonies.

TELL FREEDOM

By Mofolo Bulane

What painful a thing is parting!
'Tis a blunt, rusty bayonette
Serrated an' handled like a saw,
That forces its way to the heart
To imprison an' kill it with rust an' poison.
Parting's painful to the oppressor an' the oppressed alike.

Whatever you lay your hand upon,
Whatever you extract upon the road of life,
Stick to it, such it to its very nucleus.
Pour all your soul into it,
Satisfy all your desires with it
While Father Time, indifferently, slumbers:
Tomorrow, tomorrow it will be too late.

To-day's date's different from to-morrow's;
The past moment differs from the future,
Enjoy whilst in the circle of friends,
Share all your treasures with them
Because what are fortunes to you alone,
With the hills and plains bearing your company?
Whatever you do, do it thoroughly an' eagerly;
Attack it with force and enthusiasm;
Mix yourself with it to perfection
Because in the wagon that's ne'er beckon'd,
In the wagon of this life with the heels of fire,
There's ne'er space to breathe an' ease yourself.

When you see the oppressors torture us,
When, every moment, by hook or crook,
Brings them superfluous value an' profit;
When all the time the horses of greed
Race in their thick heads like spasms of passion,
'Tis because of the law of parting,
The cruel law that knows its time.
There, on the precipice of parting,
Exploitation of man by man is skating:
The forces of reaction in the last-ditch stand:

Parting of the roads is everywhere;
It has drawn a map upon our minds;
It has traced and painted it with various colours,
Wherever you are, whatever you're doing,
Parting is lying in wait for you.
Every now and then you're being prodded,
To the parting of the roads you're being pushed.
The flower of knows not any winter;
To it are unknown summer, spring an' autumn.
The flower of life's always attractive.
'Tis always blooming; 'tis always o'er-crowded;
Around it always the intermingling of voices:
Rush to it to-day, my friends!
When the bride and the groom with blooms
An' flowers are to the shrouding point cover'd
When applause an' ululations overwhelm them,
An' the maiden chamber flashes across their minds,

Continued on next page

Know that that act is but momentary an' nothing more;
It has but a fleeting effect upon the human soul.
Before them parting, as firm as a rock,
Is shaking an' insolent fist of its own.

Freedom is not to us an empty word.
Neither is it a sensational prize nor a toy
To be tossed according to our whims an' fancies.
Freedom is an objective reality, a dialectic truth.
Freedom to us is not a cherub's place
Nor a celestial choir near the throne.
Freedom is a linguistic dynamism,
A politico-economic connotation worthy of human
struggle,
A herald of the dawn of human justice, the era of
plenty
An' multi-lateral flourishing of the specific faculties.
Belong to the superior organic substance.
Freedom does not connote metaphysical world.
'Tis an antithesis of merciless exploitation.
Freedom an' oppression are mutually exclusive
Just like day an' night; water an' fire.

Freedom! There she stands without a replica,
A unique Child of mother Nature!
'Tis in the name of Freedom
That our sweet homes we forsake
An' sacrifice out daily bread;
That the black forces of reaction we defy
An' expose our naked selves to thunder an' lightning;
That to be fooled any more we refuse
An' a titanic struggle to the last fibre wage.
'Tis in the very name of this Freedom
That, bear-headed, we brave the storm
An' preach the gospel of Freedom;
That the clanking of hand-cuffs we ignore
An' stare incarceration in the face;
That, while the settler government is gagging us,
An' ours are by hunger gnawed in the land of our birth
While the criminal celebrates an' goes unpunished,
The African re-birth, now inexorable, now revolu-
tionary,

Forges ahead unperturbed with unprecedented momen-
tum.
That, unbacked by blood-coagulating atomic arsenal,
We're courageously triumphantly marching forward,
Clamouring for our inalienable right to freedom
From house-tops an', more often, international plat-
forms.

Rather than choose the radiant smiles of our families,
We court solitary confinement an' polluted cells
An' our ancient native songs upon the path of thunder.
The soul that has tasted Freedom
Never sits back an' trembles
When that heroic achievement on earth
Is by smart neck-ties betray'd
Or by the imperialist net-work threaten'd
Or by money-bags underfoot trampled.
Rather he resorts to decisive action

An', blessed by the mases, to pieces the enemy smashes.
Congo! The only Congo has been abused.
Congo! There she lies in the equatorial heat of Africa,
Still bleeding, still swathed, still groaning.
'Tis now three years since the monstrous murder
Since cold boots an' his swarthy hair were
By the cruel lackey forced into his reluctant mouth.
But the Congo situation still makes head-lines,
Instead of pouring oil over troubled waters,
The war-mongers an' financial tycoons
Are precipitating a catastrophe over the Congo fats.

'Tis because of such like events,
Which have left a blemish on their history,
That, Freedom once won, we're ruthless
To the extent of earning for ourselves "black dictators"
To safeguard an' consolidate that Freedom
As a national pride an' not an individual's feat,
We shall all the whited sepulchres crush.
They; in their shallowness an' blind servitude,
While by the golden calf enchanted,
Would sooner stab us in the back
Rather than see us peacefully out-pace the arch-enemy.
Africa, old an' yet young, be thorough an' unforgiving
To the iron heel an' the backward splash.
Freedom is won by once an' for all.

Upon the ruins of the ancient civilisation,
The new shrines to Freedom shall we erect
An' decorate them with ivory horns an' pebbles.
In their gardens rare flowers an' weeping willows
Shall we plant to harmonise with the picturesque scenery;
Here shall the new generation of Africa, upon return
From the melancholic sojourns in cold foreign climes,
Where the image of Africa is being damaged,
At last repose an' find the meaning of life
As themselves to the rhythmic creation they dedicate

The thought of parting should not disarm you.
It should not block your break-through
As your queue in the queue of life you take.
Don't fold your arms in the liberation struggle
Nor rest on your laurels in injustice
An' fondle with the inevitability of parting.
No, in matters of Freedom, my friend, no!
Youngman, while the going is good,
Plant yourself like a cock next to a dame,
Carry on. Tomorrow, tomorrow it'll be too late!
My friend, where you have foot-hold
Cling with the tenacity of an ivy
That, when parting throws you apart
From the familiar eyes an' fond possession,
You may leave an indelible mark,
A resounding echo of your mighty voice,
Parting should not smite you with regret.

Tears should stream down your fair cheeks,
Hot tears should form a pool on your pillow
When a galaxy of cold stars twinkles,
Not that you are crying over the spilt milk

Continued on next page

Ban on Nkomo - Ghana acts

THE Ghana Government has requested U Thant, Secretary-General of the United Nations, to obtain from the United Kingdom, the administering authority of Southern Rhodesia, a guarantee for the safety of the nationalist leader, Mr. Joshua Nkomo and three of his close associates and to seek their immediate release and freedom of movement.

A statement issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on April 18 on the restriction of the Southern Rhodesia nationalists said:

"The Government of Ghana has received with great concern and disquiet the news from Salisbury of the restriction of the nationalist leader, Mr. Joshua Nkomo, and three of his close associates to an area close to the South African and Mozambique borders.

"The Government of Ghana has therefore, requested the Secretary-General of the United Nations to obtain from the United Kingdom Government, the administering authority of the colony of Southern Rhodesia, a guarantee for the safety of Mr. Nkomo and his associates, and to seek their immediate release and freedom of movement.

"This step has been found necessary in view of the unholy alliance between the racist regimes of Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and the Govern-

ment of Portugal and the fact that petitioners who had appeared before the United Nations had reported the handing over of African nationalists to the Portuguese authorities for torture and execution.

"Statements about these atrocities are common in the archives of the United Nations. In any case, the fate of the Congolese patriot and hero, Patrice Lumumba, is still fresh in our minds and Africa cannot allow the possibility of similar treatment to other nationalist leaders to go unchallenged."

The statement went on: "The act of restricting Joshua Nkomo and his associates, following closely as it does on the change of regime in Southern

Rhodesia, clearly shows the desperate ends to which the racists in Southern Rhodesia are prepared to go.

"The situation calls for the firmest action, and the Ghana Government is therefore considering other means of seeking an end to this constant harassment of the Africa nationalists and an equitable solution to the constitutional drift in Southern Rhodesia on the basis of an agreed democratic formula.

"In the meantime, the Government of Ghana is convinced that all men of goodwill and the progressive forces of the world will condemn this further act of oppression and repression on the part of the settler-government of Southern Rhodesia."

Tell Freedom

Continued from page 33

Or you are a victim of green eyed god,
Weeping over the freedom of the blue sky,
But that you are sweet and meek of heart
Unlike these marauders with the hearts of steel.
Under this brutal government, this monster
That indulges in bestial orgies an' excesses,
Love an' labour lie lost in the low slaving law
That's being rushed through the forest of shrub.

The parting point like pans or pens appears;
The cracking of crooked myths currently cracks,
Crashing on the crags as crackers an' cranes crack,
Parting partners in pairs near parlours puffing.
Parting's a tortuous piece of crude craftmanship.
It penetrates to the heart with rust an' poison
It is painful to the Christian and the Muslim alike;
It is painful to you and to me alike.

WEST GERMAN NEO-COLONIALISM IN AFRICA

A FEW weeks ago it was announced in Bonn that the budget of the West German War Ministry envisages for "economic-military co-operation" and "military development aid" 150,000,000 German marks for 1964, to assist maintaining neo-colonialism in Africa. According to "Die Welt" this means that appropriations for this item have increased more than tenfold within two years, i.e., since 1962.

The following are just a few facts on the stepped-up military penetration of Africa by Bonn militarists: West German weapons are used against the freedom-fighters in Angola and Mozambique; in Nigeria, there are West German Air Force officers; in Malagasy, there are West German naval units; in South Africa, West Germany is supporting the Verwoerd Herrenvolk government in rocket-and-poison-gas-production.

The German militarists are especially interested in Africa as a rich source of strategic raw materials, as a training-ground for troops, and as a military base. Through their NATO ally—Portugal—at first they tried to implement their aims. Salazar gave them concessions to exploit the rich mineral sources of Angola. The Krupp enterprise and the Federal Government invested 100,000,000 pounds in various concerns in Angola. In return, Salazar received military equipment, including aircraft with launching devices for rockets, as well as trucks and arms for his colonial war. A further 150,000,000 dollar credit was granted by Bonn to Portugal to enable the fascist Salazar regime to continue and even to intensify its oppressive campaign. Salazar was again ready to grant further concessions. He placed military bases in Portugal at the disposal of the West German "Bundeswehr", where especially Air Force units, including West German paratroops, are trained. Most probably, it is only the expected wave of protest that prevents Erhard from sending troops of his own directly to Angola. Herr Jaeger, Vice-President of the "Bundestag" and leading member of the Bonn government party, Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union, confirmed the wish-dream of West Germany that the African colonies remain in the hands of Portugal, after his visit to Portugal and Angola in the following synical declaration: "If Portugal continues to possess these territories for another decade it will have won the struggle for them, because within one or two decades the so-called sovereign Africa will perish in chaos, as these states are not able to govern themselves". What a profound contempt for the Western imperialist world lies in these abominable words!

In 1957, the Bonn military journal, "Wehrkunde", recommended, in view of the atomic menace to the European industrial centres, that advantage should be taken of the relations of France to install "a peripheric arms production in North Africa". Further, dismissed German foreign legionaries from Algeria were employed as instructors by the Bundeswehr, in order that they might pass on the experience they had gathered in

Africa. As early as 1960, the British Defence Minister announced that the Bonn Bundeswehr could use military bases in East Africa, particularly in Kenya.

Today the German imperialists attempt to penetrate Africa directly by means of their military development aid, as can already be seen in Nigeria and South Africa. Some time ago, the Bundeswehr journal, "Visier", expressed its great interest in "ideal training grounds" in South Africa as follows: "The Namib desert near Walvis Bay, in the former colony of German South West Africa, is an ideal training ground for desert warfare. The desert offers space enough for tactical training with Service Ammunition. There is no training-ground problem there, as there is with us."

The news that West Germany is taking a share in developing rocket production in South Africa was a great shock to the Africans. Several West German firms, among them Messrs. Boelkow, near Stuttgart, are already engaged in the development of rocket and other power units, and have sent technicians and scientists to Pretoria. At that time arrangements were made to allow the Bonn War Ministry to use South African testing-grounds.

On February 27, 1964, the "Deutsche Zeitung", a German economic newspaper, published a letter received from Pretoria, South Africa, under the heading "South Africa wants Immigrants". It revealed the following facts: "The Lufthansa brings about 50 German emigrants each week to South Africa... Each month about 1,000 British emigrants receive permits to leave for South Africa... 30,000—Italians, Greeks, Dutchmen, Belgians, Portuguese and Swiss citizens—emigrated to South Africa last year... However, these are not yet enough to satisfy the enormous need for people and workers. The steel and machine (engineering) industry has a shortage of 2,000 skilled workers... By 1970 South Africa needs 2,345,000 trained skilled technicians... a third of the South African population are Germans. (N.B. as can be seen; the coloured peoples are not human beings, and only the whites are counted and regarded as "population" here)... a beautiful suburb with one-family houses—about 1,500 has been built on level ground, where Sophiatown (Johannesburg) once stood." (For this reason 70,000 Africans had to be driven out of their homes and a whole township transplanted to Meadowlands, miles away; in short, to make place for European emigrants). Due to the high percentage of Germans in South Africa, West Germany will play an important role in future, in instituting and maintaining a neo-colonialist regime there.

Bonn press chief, Herr von Hase, at a press conference stated that "the military assistance had been agreed upon in detail" with NATO. Hence the whole Bonn military penetration of Africa is a carefully prepared NATO campaign which, among other things, is aimed at incorporating Africa as a strategically important area in the military preparations against the southern flank of the Socialist Camp.

THE B.B.C. AND AFRICA

BEFORE, during and after the all-important International Conference on Economic Sanctions against South Africa, there was a strange fade-out by the British Broadcasting Corporation which had kept Pan-Africanists who have not yet known the true role of the imperialist B.B.C. rethinking.

We regarded this conference as marking an important phase in the struggle to smash the stronghold of racialism on the continent of Africa.

Why was the "All-Knowing" B.B.C. so silent over the issue of economic sanctions against South Africa which is regarded in Africa, and the United Nations as the only alternative to averting a blood bath in that unhappy country?

IT WOULD be more pleasant to attribute the strange fade-out by the B.B.C. of all news of the International Conference on Economic Sanctions against South Africa, to technical reasons, but it would not be true. The failure to report on, or discuss, this large and important international gathering in Britain, either in the news, in The World Today, or in Radio Newsreel, must be taken as deliberate policy in line with the policy of the Tory Government and the Labour Opposition not to support economic sanctions against South Africa.

The reaction of the Afro-Asian countries and civilized opinion throughout the world on official British support for Apartheid is too well-known to need further comment at this stage.

In Britain, no less than anywhere else, millions of decent men and women have, through their spokesmen, expressed their disgust and dismay at the decision of Britain's industrial, financial and political leaders to keep up the profits of Britain's trade and investments in South Africa at the expense of thirteen million Africans. These Africans are reduced to the same state of slavery which the British Parliament found repugnant and intolerable more than a hundred years ago.

However it is the B.B.C. we are concerned with, at this moment. The British Broadcasting Corporation has a special Africa service, and claims to serve Africa with impartial news and views. It has always protested when African members of the Commonwealth abandoned B.B.C. news services in

favour of their own services. Periodically it issues statements regarding its political impartiality, and its dedication to a free expression of views.

Most of the time, nothing that happens in Africa, or concerning Africa, escapes the British radio. If a dog barks in Accra, or a crow croaks in Dar-es-Salaam, it is often regarded as being of great political importance. Learned commentators and zealous reporters spend valuable hours discussing its portent, and whether it means the fall of a regime or a revolutionary change in African society.

Now what could interest listeners in Africa, more than an international conference on apartheid? The B.B.C., however, could not spend a minute of its valuable time to tell Africa what is happening at this momentous conference, packed with representatives from the United Nations and most of the great Powers. It only found time, before the Conference commenced to broadcast, that Mr. Wilson, the Labour Leader, had decided not to support economic sanctions against South Africa.

Ghana, of course, has long ago learned that the British press and radio is mainly concerned in fishing in troubled waters as far as Africa is concerned. The blackout on the Conference against apartheid, however, should make it clear in other African quarters, exactly what the role of the official British radio is, in keeping the old colonial structure under a new guise intact in Africa. That structure includes Apartheid South Africa; and when the Verwoerd regime needs comfort and protection, the B.B.C. is on the job.

OUR COVERAGE

Voice of Africa

Special

Correspondent

at the

LONDON TALKS,

R. K. DWEBENG

brings to our readers

a complete report,

observation and

commentary in

our MAY issue

DR. NKRUMAH'S

message to the

Conference is on page 2

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"Apartheid Breeds

Voilence"

by Nelson Mandela

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ULTRA-COLONIALISM IN MOZAMBIQUE

By Franz J. T. Lee

PORTUGUESE colonisation of Mozambique began at the beginning of the 16th century. In 1505, on his voyage to India, Almeida had set up a factory at Sofala on the east coast of Africa. He also built a fortress at Kilwa. In 1507 a fortress and factory were built on Mozambique island. In 1531 and 1544 Sena and Quelimane were founded, respectively. Portugal hoped to discover important sources of gold and silver in the African interior. However, neither metal was ever found in substantial quantities, hence Portuguese penetration of the hinterland was limited and ephemeral.

By 1700 only the Zambezi valley as far as Tete had been occupied. Portuguese population along the coast did not exceed 1,000. With the collapse of the spice trade and the Asian empire, the Portuguese lost interest in the East Coast. The whole area declined, the interior and the coast of Sofala became deserted. By 1810 the Portuguese coastal occupation was the same as in 1600, consisting of forts and trading posts from Ibo to Lourenço Marques.

GREAT SCRAMBLE FOR AFRICA

Only in 1885—scarcely 80 years ago—with the “Great Scramble for Africa” by the great imperialist European powers did Portugal become seriously interested in Mozambique again. Below, we are analysing what happened in these 80 years thereafter and the events that led to the present terror and slavery.

From 1895 to 1896, a campaign under Antonio Enes and Mousinho de Albuquerque reduced Gazaland in Southern Mozambique. In 1897 Coutinho occupied the coastal area north of Quelimane. In 1902 to 1904, the Zambesia Company “pacified” the area from Tete to Nyasaland frontier. In 1906 the northern sector opposite Mozam-

bique Island was subdued. In a series of campaigns from 1908 to 1912 the Yao tribes off Lake Nyasa were brought under control. This ends the period of military conquest.

Till 1890, the major vector of the new imperialism, the chartered company, was almost non-existent in Portuguese Africa. From 1891 onwards concessionary companies did exist in Mozambique. By 1900 the Mozambique Company (1891), the Niassa Company (1891-93) and the Zambesia Company, between them controlled two-thirds of Mozambique's economy. These companies were very small in comparison with their English or German counterparts in Africa. At this time the Portuguese economy was archaic and bankrupt. It was scarcely touched by the commercial and industrial expansion of Western Europe in the 19th century.

It could not convert an extractive to a transformer imperialism. This factor is the root determinant of the present Portuguese colonies.

About 1930, the white and mestizo population of Mozambique were 17,800 and 8,350 respectively. The total population was about 3,500,000. From 1940 onwards emigration figures began to show a major increase: 1940—27,500; 1950—48,000; 1960—80,000.

From 1950 onwards some 5,000 families have been settled at Guiga in the Limpopo valley. These settlers received up to a total of 10 acres per family and some 60 acres of non-irrigated land for grazing purposes from the Government, in order to raise the living standards of the Europeans. At present there are about 12,000,000 Africans in Mozambique.

Missionary activity was carried on mainly by Portuguese Dominicans. Despite intensive campaigns, proselytisation was wholly ineffective and ephemeral. In 1825 there were just 10 priests and of these seven were Goans. By 1850 there

were just four along the coast and not a single missionary in the interior. Towards 1900 there was an influx of foreign missionaries—mainly German friars, French Montfort and Salesian fathers, and Italian Consulate friars. These missionaries were supported by Portugal in their campaign of bringing the Christian religion to the natives and “barbaric races”. The African had to be civilised to become an obedient slave, at the same time making sure that he does not become competent or initiative. Today the Salazar regime, under the official rubric of “Faith, Family, Toil”, is intensely Catholic.

In 1950 Mozambique had 210,000 Catholics and 60,000 Protestants (census figures). A third of the Christian community is thus heretical, despite the non-existence of any Protestant minority in Portugal. In 1957 there were 310 Catholic and 200 Protestant priests (or ministers).

Missionary activity is a symptom of a wider clan. At the dawn of European Imperialism Vasco da Gama said: “I seek Christians and spices”. Ever since, missionary activity has always been one dimension of the total colonial enterprise and as such suggestive of all the others.

EDUCATION

In 1956 out of a total population of 6,000,000 (census figures, although this figure was probably much higher) only 284,000 (including whites) received education. In 1945 there were 183,092 pupils in rudimentary schools, being reserved almost exclusively for Africans only. Of these just 3,595 took the final examination (after three years) and of them 2,774 passed. In 1955 there were 212,428 pupils in Catholic rudimentary schools, of these only 2,761 passed to continue their education in the primary schools.

In 1954 there were 120 Africans in commercial, industrial and secondary schools in the whole of Mozambique. In the elite Liceu—the preparatory school for university level—there were 5 Africans and 800 white students; no African has ever completed the whole Liceu course. There is no university in Portuguese Africa. All higher edu-

cation have to be acquired in Portugal or in other countries. The outcome is that less than 1 per cent of the Africans is officially reckoned to be literate. (1950 census). This is an important factor to explain why political organisation and revolutionary work are of such a low level in Mozambique.

Any observer can attest the most flagrant and classic type of discrimination in Mozambique. Hospitals have black and white wards; restaurants have notices stating: "Admission Reserved"; the hotels employ an all-white staff; in buses and trains, in parks and gardens, all over there is a strict discrimination. A bus-ride in Lourenço Marques costs the quarter of an African daily wage. Price-levels seal Africans off from white commercial, social and entertainment centres. Specially designed rents impose separate white and African townships.

In Lourenço Marques, just like in Cape Town or Johannesburg, there is a permanent curfew for Africans after nine o'clock in the evening. The African is required to carry a pass—a "cadernato"—in order that he can be controlled and efficiently enslaved. One sees the whole Apartheid and Baasskap policy of the Herrenvolk of South Africa here at work.

FOREIGN CAPITAL

The panorama of foreign capital in Mozambique is impressive, but due to lack of 'truthful' figures and inadequate research on this matter by modern writers, the following may suffice to give us a picture of this 'covert condominium'.

In 1959-60 Mozambique exported mainly: cotton, cashew nuts, tea, sugar, copra and sisal. *British* capital owns two of the large sugar concessions (the third is Portugal), including the famous Sena states. The Matola Oil Refinery—Procon is controlled by **England** and the **United States**. In 1948 the petroleum concession was given to the Mozambique Gulf Oil Company. At Maoitze coal is mined: the industry is chiefly financed by **Belgium**. 60 per cent of the capital of the compagnie de Charbons de Mozambique is held by the Societe Miniere

et Geologique Belge, 30% by the Mozambique Company and the remaining 10% by the Government. Of the three banks in Mozambique, only the Babco Nacional Ultramarino is Portuguese, the other two are *Barclays' Bank, D.C.O.* and the *Standard Bank of South Africa*. Nine out of the twenty-three insurance companies are Portuguese. 80% of life-insurance is still in the hands of foreign companies. Lately the Lourenço Marques Oil Refinery is established by the Sociedade Nacional de Refinacao de Petroleo (SONAREP)—a *Franco-Portuguese* syndicate. In the sisal plantations *Swiss* capital is invested. In copra concerns, a combination of Portuguese, *Swiss* and *French* capital is invested.

Judged from the above, it is quite clear what a stake most of the countries of the "free world" has in the continuation of exploitation and oppression of the millions of toiling African masses under Portuguese slavery.

TERRORISM:

The *Freedom Fighter* (Ghana newspaper) of November 21, 1963, published the following: "People are being drowned alive; people are being buried alive; people are being burnt alive; people are being skinned alive;—all in the 20th century. In Mozambique! Slavery is Rampant." To show that this is no exaggeration, I wish to repeat the acts of which the Liberian delegate at the United Nations accused Portugal lately: (i) Drowning Africans in her territories. (ii) Burying Africans up to their shoulder in the ground and crushing their heads with bulldozers. (iii) Selling people from Mozambique to South Africa and Southern Rhodesia at 2 pounds sterling a head. She produced first hand evidence that 10,000 African workers were being sold each year to South Africa. And Portugal belongs to NATO!

Mozambican freedom fighters who have fled to South Africa or Southern Rhodesia are being kidnapped and maltreated by the Portuguese secret police (PIDE). Some examples are: the kidnapping of Edward Ngubeni and Philip Sebral

from South Africa, and of Jaime Sigauke from Salisbury, in April 1962, to Mozambique. Lately Filipe Madzozere and Alfred Amargo were kidnapped from Salisbury. In June, 1963, Peter Balamanja—founder of the Mozambique African National Congress—was again kidnapped. The Dennis Brutus and Dr. Abrahams incidents are again examples of kidnapping and expatriation to South Africa from neighbouring territories.

National Liberatory Movements:

Due to the above-mentioned factors, social, political and economic, the Africans are forced to organise themselves and find avenues of how to break the chains of slavery.

Some time ago, the two major political organisations united at a conference in Tanganyika to form the Mozambique Liberation Front—FRELIMO, under the presidency of Dr. Mondlane. However, due to neo-colonialist manoeuvres and the influence of his American wife, Janet, he became a traitor to the movement. Another popular organisation is Uniao Democratic Nacional de Mozambique (UDENAMO), which fights for the democratic-socialist system of government in Mozambique.

Due to Mondlane's treachery, FRELIMO was forced to work underground. Thereafter delegates from the Mozambique African National Union (MANU), UDENAMO, Mozambique African Association (MAA) and Mozambique African Farmers Association (MAFA) met in Kampala and formed a new "United Front"—the FUNIPAMO. Many members of FRELIMO joined this united front also.

However, due to poor communications, high illiteracy rates and rigorous control by the authorities, political organisation inside Mozambique is very difficult. Portugal is busy cutting off any contact with comrades and leaders in neighbouring states. However this is all in vain. With the progress of the Angolan Revolution, and the forward march of the African Revolution, Portugal has soon to roll up her map in Africa.

CO-EXISTENCE AND THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF THE COLONIAL PEOPLES

THE struggle for the political emancipation of the colonial peoples is inexorably and rapidly drawing to its successful conclusion. Many have attained independence, while the last vestiges of the old colonialist system are crumbling under the mighty blows dealt them by the liberation forces. Whereas there were only ten independent states on African territory at the time of the Second Conference of Afro-Asian Solidarity in Conakry in 1960, there are now 34 independent African states (excepting the Union of South Africa).

The revolutionary campaign against foreign domination and exploitation is not yet ended, however. There are still many obstacles in the way of the achievement of full independence and complete economic emancipation. The struggle for liberation from foreign rule and influence has not come to an end with the acquisition of political independence. The newly independent peoples are confronted with the difficult task of consolidating their hard-won freedom, abolishing economic exploitation, developing their national economy, promoting education, culture, etc.

Defeated in their efforts to preserve the classical colonial system, except in a few colonies which are already in a state of revolutionary ferment, the forces of imperialism and colonialism are striving to adjust themselves to the newly created conditions in such a manner as to make it possible for them both to maintain their present positions and to acquire new ones. In order to conceal their true motives the imperialists are feigning concern for democracy and freedom, for the advancement of the underdeveloped areas, and for their alleged obligations regarding the "lofty mission of civilization". Benefitting

by the sombre heritage of colonialism, these forces are attempting to preserve essentially the same political and economic hegemony under a new guise, and in a form that is more easily acceptable.

Recognition of formal independence; attempts to foment national antagonism in order to disrupt the broad front of the liberation forces; taking advantage of existing inter-African or inter-Asian differences of view; aggravation of the international situation and the utilization of the ensuing tension for the purpose of reinforcing their own ranks; joining together in resistance to the liberation movements (when the common interests of the capitalist countries are in question, their mutual contradictions are temporarily relegated to the background); intermittent recourse to armed intervention for the purpose of suppressing the aspirations of the colonial peoples or of retaining certain countries within their own sphere of influence; etc.—these are only a few of the weapons in the well-stocked arsenal of neo-colonialism, that is, of the imperialist colonial policy, at a time of the rapid decay of imperialism and the transition to socialism. A special place has been reserved in this arsenal for the "communist bugbear", for arbitrary theories on the inevitability of armed conflict between the socialist and imperialist system, for "international communist subversion", and for the alleged intention of socialist countries to subjugate the newly liberated countries in one way or another to their interests, and to foist their system on them.

Under present conditions, neo-colonialism is rather a manifestation of weakness than of the political and economic strength of im-

perialism which, being fully aware of the restrictions imposed on it by the existing balance of power, is obliged to substitute for the traditional power politics, more subtle forms of political and economic domination. But imperialism is in a position to inflict immense harm upon the newly independent and developing countries; and neo-colonialism represents a serious threat to the independence of these countries, precisely owing to the new forms by which the old substance is so skillfully disguised.

Therefore an intense struggle against the neo-colonialist attempts to turn back the clock is no less imperative than the struggle against the old forms of oppression. It is a logical sequel to the general struggle waged for equal rights and full independence, and an integral part of the continuous process of the world revolution, which is assuming a myriad different forms. In other words, to strive against colonialism and neo-colonialism is to strive for peace, and hence for socialism.

Essentially revolutionary, irrespective of the immense variety of its forms and manifestations, the struggle of the colonial peoples for freedom and independence passed through several phases during and after World War II. During the first stage, which began after the cessation of hostilities in the immediate post war period, the decolonization of the greater part of Asia was comparatively painless. Many Asian countries appeared on the international scene and took an active part in laying the foundations for new international relations. This phase was sanctioned, from the aspect of formal law, by the adoption of the United Nations Charter, an important document which trans-

formed the self-determination of peoples from a moral-political into a legal norm. The inalienable right of peoples under foreign domination to self-determination was recognized, while the colonial powers assumed certain international obligations concerning a matter which previously belonged to their exclusive jurisdiction.

A product of the international situation and balance of power of that time: the United Nations Charter, needless to say neither provided a solution to the colonial problem nor gave the colonial peoples an adequate and effective instrument for the fulfilment of their recognized rights. The statement of this obvious fact does not imply a denial of the progressive character of this important document, whose application depended far on the balance of power and general policy pursued by the United Nations members than on the precise elaboration of the formulas contained therein.

At any rate the United Nations Charter marked a significant victory of the progressive forces. This victory provided the legal and political basis for the extension of concrete moral-political and other assistance to the struggle waged by the colonial peoples for freedom, and for the enlistment of world public opinion in favour of their cause.

The United Nations Charter proclaims the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes. But neither the Charter nor its concrete elaboration in the form of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the numerous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly, among which the Declaration on the granting of independence to the colonial peoples and countries is undoubtedly the most important, denies the right of the oppressed peoples to strive by every means for the fulfilment of their inalienable right to freedom and independence. Therefore such forms of struggle were invariably endorsed by the majority of United Nations members, who saw in the victory of every nation in the fight for freedom and independence the best guarantee of

their own independence.

Having learned their lesson in Asia, the colonial powers, or at least some of them, began seeking new relations with the colonial peoples in Africa which would enable them to safeguard their privileged political and economic positions, and weaken the impact of the anti-colonial movements. Various "unions" and "communities" began to appear; constitutions were revised in haste; the equality of all before the law regardless of race and colour was recognized in theory; colonies were proclaimed "component parts" or overseas provinces" of the metropolises etc. But this could never satisfy the justifiable claims of the colonial peoples, who clearly manifested their determination to secure a place which was theirs by right in the international community. Strongly supported by the socialist and newly independent countries, the national liberation movements in Africa grew increasingly stronger, and won their first victories over the forces of colonialism and internal enemies.

The outbreak of the cold war marked the beginning of the second phase in the fight for freedom waged by the colonial peoples, and this situation lasted until 1955 approximately. The increasingly serious antagonisms between the capitalist states were forgotten under the pressure of this ominous situation, thus leading to the unification and consolidation of the non-socialist world. The national bourgeoisie in the colonies was integrated in this process, although when motivated by its own class interests and under different conditions, it constituted an integral and fairly important section of the broad front of the national liberation forces.

This was not without effect on the liberation movements and progressive forces in the colonies, and on the progressive movements in the metropolises and other capitalist countries. The struggle for influence on the liberation movements transferred the cold war to African and Asian soil. This circumstances actually suited the colonial powers, as it provided them with a formal excuse for an all-national liberation

movements.

The cold war not only slowed down and obstructed the process of colonial emancipation but rendered it infinitely painful and prolonged. Many anti-colonial movements were disrupted, while others took years to recover. By comparison with the preceding phase, and even more so with the succeeding phase of decolonization, very few people won their independence in that period.

The colonial system sustained the most shattering blows in the period which was marked by a comparative lessening in international tension which, notwithstanding intermittent crises, has continued up to the present day. From 1956 to 1960 only six countries attained independence, while 26 newly independent countries have appeared on the international scene since 1960. This phase of the liberation struggle of the colonial peoples coincides with the ever stronger assertion of the policy of peaceful active co-existence, and the growth of those forces which are striving for respect for the right of all peoples to Self-determination and independence; for international cooperation based on equal rights and mutual respect; for non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries; for general and complete disarmament; and for the settlement of all outstanding problems by negotiation and other peaceful means.

The examination of past developments and of the results achieved by the struggle for the political and economic emancipation of the dependent peoples indicates clearly enough that the policy of peaceful co-existence does not in the least hamper the liberation of the colonial peoples but rather provides the best way for the creation of the most favourable conditions for the rapid and successful accomplishment of this objective. This is not all, however. By striving for peace and its consolidation, the forces that base their policy on the principles of active peaceful co-existence are consciously hastening the internal disintegration of capitalism and imperialism, facilitating the struggle for progress, and enhancing

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N. MANDELA: Apartheid Breeds Violence

MR. Nelson Mandela, the South African Nationalist leader has said that African leaders had been forced to adopt a policy of violence by the actions of the segregationist 'government' in South Africa headed by fascist Verwoerd.

Appearing before the racist supreme Court on April 20, after a six-week adjournment, Mr. Mandela de-

clared: "I do not deny that I planned sabotage. I did not do this in a spirit of recklessness. I planned it as a result of a calm and sober assessment of the situation after many years of oppression and tyranny of my people by the white".

Mr. Mandela told the court: "I admit immediately that I was one

of the persons who helped to form Umkonto We Sizwe (The Spear of my arrest in August, 1962. the Nation) and that I played a prominent role in its affairs until

"I did what I did as a leader of my people because of my experiences in Africa and not because of what any outsider might have said", he declared.

Mr. Mandela said Umkonto. We Sizwe had been planned for two reasons:

In the first place "we believe that as a result of Government policy, violence by the African people had become inevitable and that unless a responsible leadership was given to control the feelings of our people, there would be outbreak of terrorism which would cause bitterness between the various races of the country.

Secondly, "we felt that without sabotage there would be no way open to the African people to succeed in their struggle against the principle of white supremacy. All other means of opposing principle were closed by legislation.

"We had either to accept inferiority or fight against it by violence. We chose the latter."

He said the A.N.C.—formed in 1912 to defend the rights of the African people—had adhered strictly to a non-violent policy until 1949:

"There was then a change from the strictly constitutional means of protest", Mr. Mandela said. "The A.N.C. launched a defiance campaign based on passive resistance."

He referred to the four-year "treason trial" which ended in 1961 of which he was one of the accused.

"The non-violence policy was tested by the court and the court found the A.N.C. did not have a policy of violence.

Mr. Mandela also referred to the so-called "referendum" of 1959

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"I have come to the conclusion that violence is inevitable and it will be unrealistic and wrong for African leaders to continue a non-violent policy when the Government meets our demands with violence"

the role of the socialist and other progressive factors in countries.

Such a course of development is undoubtedly distasteful to the reactionary and conservative forces. It is even less undoubted that such forces would like to check this process by any means.

But the balance of world power has changed so conspicuously in favour of socialist and other progressive forces that notwithstanding the subjective wish of the imperialist and colonial forces to deal in their own way with the contradictions that beset them: in fact, by means of war, such demarches are no longer possible without running risks which are not worth the eventual profits to be derived from such a course of action.

The deliberate distortion of the essence of the policy of peaceful coexistence and its representation as one aiming at the preservation of the *status quo*, as an appeal to preserve existing relations *ad infinitum*, an appeal for coexistence between the oppressors and oppressed, an appeal for the disarmament of the peoples fighting for their freedom, as the prevention of just and revolutionary wars etc., is not a new phenomenon. The colonial powers and various other conservative forces at one time or other have themselves attempted to "interpret" the essence of peaceful active coexistence in the same manner.

The practical answer to such "interpretations" has been provided by contemporary and recent developments both in their own countries and in the remnants of their empires, the advent of new and independent states, the irrepressible struggle against all forms of domination and exploitation, whose forms in the long run depend on the degree of resistance to the peaceful fulfilment of the principles of coexistence, the unselfish support extended to this struggle by the socialist and newly liberated countries, which are inspired by these principles, provide a more than convincing refutation of such a concept of coexistence.

In view of the fact that the policy of peaceful coexistence is a policy of peace, and that the abolition of all forms of domination, exploita-

tion and interference in the internal affairs of other states and peoples is a basic condition for its preservation and consolidation, the socialist and other forces striving for the implementation of the principles of peaceful coexistence extend the fullest support to the peoples struggling for freedom and equality of rights, and to all progressive anti-imperialist movements in the world.

The steadfast carrying out of this policy means giving the same support to the peoples forced by the colonialist powers to armed combat, and for whom a resort to arms has provided the only alternative. This was the case yesterday in Algeria, former Indo-China, and tomorrow it will be the case with all other nations which are obliged to wage a just war for their independence.

Apart from belying the experiences of the recent past, the assertion that the policy of coexistence and disarmament implies the rejection of revolutionary liberation wars, is profoundly detrimental to the cause of peace and socialism and to the just cause of the Third Conference of Afro-Asian Solidarity, which proclaimed itself unequivocally in favour of general and complete disarmament, and for the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. The Conference rightly did not consider this in the least incompatible with the resolute intention to strive, if necessary by all means available, for freedom and independence.

As for the choice of methods and forms of the struggle for freedom and independence, the participants in the Conference rejected attempts to define them in advance, isolated from the concrete situation and conditions. Without rejecting armed combat, but also without precluding the possibility of assuming political power by peaceful means and the granting of various concessions, the participants in the Conference, aware of the historical truth that "every victory achieved without recourse to force strengthens the progressive forces" proclaimed the right of every nation decide on this matter in accordance with the concrete conditions and the balance of power prevailing at the time.

Consequently, confronted by a choice between bloc and indepen-

dent orientation, the Conference in Moschi chose the latter, that is to say the policy of independence, equality of rights, active coexistence and world peace that the newly liberated peoples will be able to use their long-repressed creative forces for the creation of a happier future.

MANDELA

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which decided that South Africa should become a republic the following year.

Africans were not entitled to vote in the referendum. As a result it was decided to stage a stay-at-home strike—a peaceful demonstration.

Mr. Mandela went on: "The Government answered by mobilising its forces, sending Aracens (armoured cars) into the townships to intimidate the people. This showed that the Government had intended to rule by force alone. This was a milestone in the formation of Umkonto"

He had come to the conclusion in June, 1961, that violence was inevitable and that it would be unrealistic and wrong for African leaders to continue a non-violent policy when the Government "met our demands with violence."

Appearing with Mr. Mandela are Mr. Walter Sisulu, former Secretary-General of the A.N.C. and seven others.

The "Rivonia trial", the climax of the racist regime's plot to get rid of nationalist leaders in South Africa thus depriving the 13 million Africans of genuine leadership and demoralize the people, has been strongly condemned throughout the world.

The United Nations Security Council has already called on the Pretoria regime to abandon the mock trial and release the brave freedom fighters.

In the meantime the Organisation of African Unity, heads of African States and all Africa, indeed all decent minded people of the world are watching and waiting.

IMPERIALISM VERSUS KWAME NKRUMAH

This note which we have just received from the KANU office in Nairobi is published completely unedited.

GHANA, as the first African country South of the Sahara to achieve Independence and to champion the Liberation struggle in all countries in colonial bondage in Africa, has become the focus of Imperialist machinations and subversions of all types calculated to undermine the morale not only of the people of Ghana but of the whole of Africa as well, to sabotage Africa imaginative Socialist plan for reconstruction and to plunge the whole Africa into chaos.

But thanks to the dynamic Leadership of the Ghana President Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, that courageous and indomitable son of Africa and also to the undying faith and confidence the masses have in him, any treacherous designs or plots of assassination by the neo-colonialists and their agents will always be nipped in the bud. And with the ever increasing vigilance by all Ghanaians together with our full support, we are sure that no evil hand can touch Osagyefo or any of our progressive Leaders in Africa.

But why have the Imperialists, Colonialists, Neo-colonialists, and their stooges made Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah the target of their criminal designs?

The plain fact is, had President Nkrumah and the peo-

ple of Ghana sat tight as passive spectators and turned a blind eye on the sufferings and miseries of our brothers in colonial servitude after Ghana's achievement of Independence on 6th March, 1957, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah would today have become the pampered Brother of the Imperialists and Neo-colonialists and all kind of sweet praises would be showering on Ghana by Imperialist press and radio. But Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah would not sacrifice his suffering brothers and sisters for Imperialists' praises; hence he has become the enemy No. 1 of the Imperialists and Neo-colonialists. Osagyefo Dr. Nkrumah's only crime in Africa is *Scaring the Imperialists and Neo-colonialist thugs from exploiting and looting African Countries and States.*

In the process of their criminal anti-state activities, the hard-core of Imperialist agents and stooges clothe themselves in what they call "the Rule of Law" and parade about in the name of Democracy. When it suits them, they jettison without scruples all principles of democracy and resort to brute force and violence to achieve their ends. In the course of their criminal activities, innocent blood is shed, innocent children are killed—all in the name of democracy!! But

when these hard-core of Imperialist agents and stooges are caught like birds in a cage with their conspirators and plotters, they shamelessly seek refuge in the so-called "The Rule of Law."

After all, what is democracy and the Rule of Law which have become the sing song of these neo-colonialist stooges and puppets?

Frankly speaking, very few states in Europe have been able to create such conditions consistent with democracy as the people of Ghana have done under the sincere leadership of Osagyefo. To mention only a few of such healthy conditions, I would rightly say that Factories and Industrial plants are springing up in Ghana with speed and ease. Can any one of you call to mind what Ghana was like before their Independence? Do you think the Ghanaians would have made the progress they are making if they had not embarked on their accelerated educational programme? Can the Neo-colonialists and their agents name the few places in the world where University education is as free as it is in Ghana? Can those who have long memories looking back at the period just before Ghana's Independence, say in truth that Ghana has not made progress? Progress there has

been. Progress there continues to be. With their present population of seven millions, Ghana has three big Universities with over three thousand students. Strength and power can only come to a people through education, and I must say frankly that the Government of Ghana spends more on education in relation to her national income than any other country in the world. Already Ghana have samples of paper produced from local wood. Already Ghana has established forty-five industrial projects.

Ghana's Workers Brigade establishment which employs thousands of workers in productive work has become the envy of many European countries. Ghana's Young Pioneers Movement for the training of Ghana youths for leadership

and service to the state is among the best in the world. This Young Pioneers Movement has a membership of over one million young boys and girls.

All these healthy organisations and conditions which engender good life in Ghana were created by Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah. What more could be done in Ghana to translate into practical reality the principles of Democracy than these?

Ever since our Leaders agreed to form O.A.U., no Imperialist press or radio has ever come out in support of this noble ideal. Instead, their press and radio have been waging intensive campaign against such leaders as Nkrumah who shows excessive zeal in the implementation of the principles of African Unity.

Such a Leader, according to the neo-colonialist press, is a dictator.

All progressive sons of Mother Africa feel that only African Unity with a Union Government can save our Beloved Continent becoming a prey to neo-colonialism.

As Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah has said when addressing Ghana's National Assembly on Tuesday, 15th October, 1963: "A Continental political union for Africa is not only essential for our freedom and existence; it is necessary for the orderly progress and rapid development of our continent. African Unity is the only solution to the vast problems facing our oppressed brothers and Freedom Fighters in South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia, South West Africa, Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland. It is the only solution to the difficulties which are bound to confront our newly independent States and those that are shortly to be independent."

When addressing the Ghana National Assembly on May 30, 1961, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah exposed the brutalities of Portuguese against peace loving Africans; slave labour and the conspiracy between Portugal, South Africa, and NATO against Africans. Osagyefo is determined to do away with the cancer of Colonialism, Imperialism, and Neo-colonialism. Osagyefo has shown excessive zeal in the implementation of the principles of AFRICAN Unity. The Neo-colonialists are afraid of this, and that is why they hate him.

Boycott South African Goods